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Exclusive!

Anna Louise Strong spurns Hearst's offer to play Judas

By Cedric Belfrage

Cedric Belfrage, editor of the GUARDIAN, was the only newspaperman to have a private interview with Anna Louise Strong when she arrived back in the U. S.

ANNA LOUISE STRONG, 64-year-old writer, who has devoted her life to the cause of better relations with the Soviet Union and was deported from that country last week as a "well-known intelligence agent," walked from the transatlantic plane early Thursday morning into a fair facsimile of a cage of hyenas.

She had not been to bed for three nights. At 3:30 a.m., after being handed a subpena to appear before New York's "spy" Grand Jury, and

after two hours of interrogation by the FBI, she was hustled by a flying wedge of 12 policemen across the air-terminal lobby.

A melee of gentlemen of the press surged behind, shoved her in a corner and began firing questions. Hearst-I.N.S. reporter Jack Lotto, who had flown to Gander, Newfoundland, to accompany her on the last leg of her journey, began heckling her; other reporters heckled Lotto with shouts of "Let her talk!" and the battery of newsreel cameramen, set up hours earlier with their kleig lights in another part of the room, joined the hubbub with: "Bring her over to the mike where we can shoot her!"

PRICE NO OBJECT. No fighter for sanity and decency has ever been subjected to a greater test of will. For Anna Louise Strong the terrible strain on her nerves had not let up since the night of Monday, Feb. 14, when at 9 p.m. she was taken from her room in Moscow for five days of questioning by the Security Police.

She was never told what the charges against her were. But she knew that in her efforts to get to Communist China she had annoyed certain Moscow officials — and that "official stupidity is not a monopoly of any country."

The final test had begun at Gander, Newfoundland — last stop of the Paris-New York flight. At the airport she was handed a sheaf of telegrams and telephone messages from newspapers, news syndicates and radio networks, asking her with unctuous friendliness to tell all and indicating that price was no object.

Five months ago, when Miss Strong left for the Soviet Union as correspondent for Allied Labor News and NATIONAL GUARDIAN, the American Iron Curtain had descended upon her completely. Not a single newspaper, radio or book publisher paying enough to maintain a pet dog would provide a medium for her.

"VERY INTERESTED." At Gander Hearst's Jack Lotto got on the plane. He was very friendly. He handed her a letter from a top I.N.S. executive, and she read:

Dear Dr. Strong:

I am sure you will remember the writer. I recall quite clearly the very fine job you did for us as a Moscow correspondent for quite a while. Naturally now we are very interested in your story and would like to make a deal with you.

The writer referred to the fact that in the years 1921 and 1922, when I.N.S. was still in the business of purveying news rather than pure propaganda, Miss Strong had worked briefly for them.

ON THE OFFENSIVE. At La Guardia Field, she met the test head on. She spoke of the atmosphere of hysteria which has been created around the world, and accused those whom her interrogators represented — the American press — of chief responsibility for creating it. In such an atmosphere it was understandable that Americans seeking news should be accused of spying.

She went on: "Do not use me to inflame international friction. News today is like an atom bomb. It can explode and destroy worlds. More than your job or mine, more than your lives or mine, more than the truth or falsehood of any charges, more important than justice or injustice to any individual, is the question of war or peace."

Lotto, still needling her, asked: "Did the secret police in Russia mistreat you?"

She flung back: "No one has mistreated me the way you are doing tonight."

SHE WON'T PLAY. As the only newspaper man to speak privately with her, I can say this without qualification.

In spite of the fact that Miss Strong is virtually without funds, and could make a small fortune by playing Judas to everything her life has stood for, all hopes that she will play this role are doomed to disappointment.

Many may think that she has cause for bitterness against the Soviet Union — but she is not bitter. She is seeking to understand what is happening and what makes it happen, and to promote understanding in others, as earnestly as in the past.

Her story has vitally important implications which every progressive must weigh and think about. We hope to present it shortly in our columns.

Filibuster

"Any change abridging free debate is a threat to all the states, to all minority groups, and most of all a threat to the very minority groups that are now pressing for this change."

—Senator Richard B. Russell of Georgia.

SEE NATIONAL ROUNDUP — PAGE 6

Hoax

Behind MacArthur's 'faux pas' on the Tokyo spy story.

PAGE 5

Sellout

Democrats piling up a sorry record of broken promises.

PAGES 2-3

Week's news roundup . . . pages 6, 7, 8

THE NATION

Haunting spectre of depression

By The Economist

FEAR of a depression again hangs over the U. S. The people are worried.

Without making the mistake of being either a premature depressionist or a chronic boomster, some realistic conclusions can be drawn from the facts available.

Behind the rise in unemployment, the cutbacks in production and the decline in retail sales, is a growing shrinkage in purchasing power. This will not be counteracted, it would appear, by the increase in military expenditures.

SNOWBALL. Before the war some 75% of national output went into consumption. Last year only 70% was consumed. Lack of purchasing power caused goods to back up in supply pipelines, and in turn this led to production cutbacks and layoffs.

Increasing layoffs reduced still further the available amount of purchasing power. An increase of only 1,000,000 in the number of unemployed over a 12-month period brings a loss of about $2,000,000,000 in purchasing power.

The Census Bureau reports that there are 2,700,000 unemployed, a rise of 700,000 between December and January. But it admits that the number of employed persons fell by 2,000,000 in this 1-month period. It claims that of these, 700,000 were laid off and 1,300,000 were no longer in the labor force.

The Bureau does not explain why 1,300,000 people suddenly left the labor force, or how many of them would continue working if they could find jobs. Moreover, it lists 2,300,000 persons as not working who are considered to be employed. It does not say how many of these individuals have been laid off and are hoping that the layoffs are only temporary.

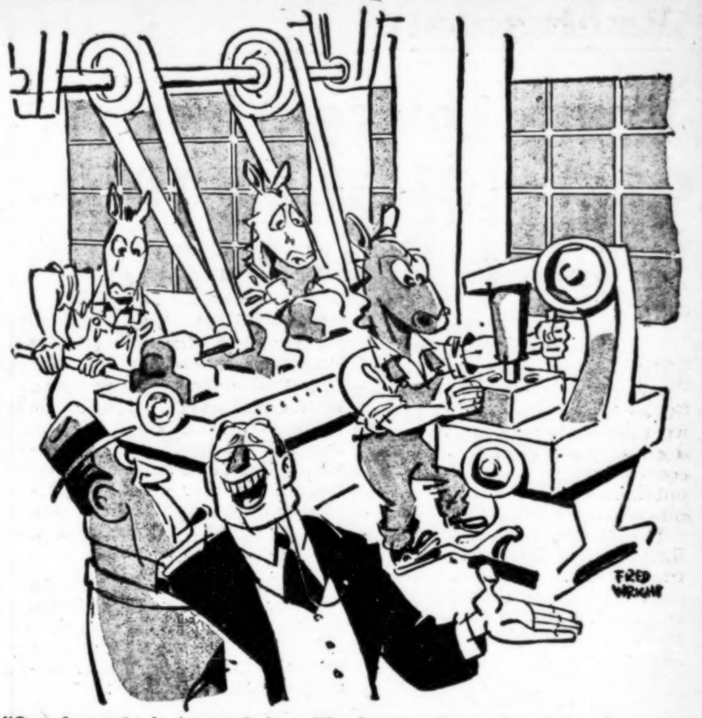
DECLINE AND FALL. An accurate estimate of unemployment would be in the neighborhood of 4,000,000. In addition, there were 9,500,000 workers who had only part-time employment, from one to 34 hours a week, when the Census Bureau made its January survey.

With production trends headed downward, unemployment will probably continue to rise during the next few months. Unemployment at the four or five million mark during 1949 (it averaged 2,000,000 in 1948) would cause a shrinkage of $4 to $6 billion in purchasing power.

Declining farm prices will very likely cause the purchasing power of farmers to shrink by about $2 billion. Thus, the cut in purchasing power of farmers and workers, from present indications, will be about $6 to $8 billion. Increased military expenditures of $2,500,000,000 will not make up this loss.

Given this prospect, it would appear that the projected level of government spending, at best, will act merely as a brake on the decline that is now taking place. The next few months will determine whether the current decline can be held to a slow slide, or whether it will develop into a serious fall.

(Federated Press)



"Our formula is to work 'em like horses then ship 'em off to the glue factory when they get old . . ."

Shostakovich will attend ASP peace conference

DMITRI Shostakovich, famed Russian composer, will be one of six Soviet guests at a 3-day Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace to be held in New York's Waldorf-Astoria beginning March 25.

Artists and scientists of 30 countries have been invited to participate by the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, initiator of the world gathering.

Other Soviet participants will be Academician A. I. Oparin, international authority on the origin of life; movie producer S. A. Gerasimov; novelists A. A. Fadeyev and P. A. Pavlenko (who wrote the film **Alexander Nevsky**).

From France will come Abbe Jean Boulier, religious leader; Eugenie Cotton, physicist; and Paul Eluard, poet. Other foreign participants will include Erling Christopherson, Norwegian scientist; N. Gangulee, leading economist of India; and Nela Martinez, Ecuadorian novelist.

Dr. Harlow Shapley, director of the Harvard College Observatory and chairman of the National Council, said: "We aim in our conference to work toward solutions that will emphasize the ultimate folly of war and the moral appeal of a world united against human poverty, ignorance, disease and baseless suspicion."

(In an open letter on our front page a month ago, GUARDIAN proposed visits by Soviet writers, artists and scientists to the U.S. and vice versa, as a first step toward peaceful relations through emphasizing "one another's achievements rather than shortcomings").

"And you'll also be quite shocked, Count, to see the spread of foreign ideas over here."

In never-never land

Unemployment? Just a bad dream, the Democrats say

By James Haddon

WASHINGTON

LIKE Alice in Wonderland the Democrats closed their eyes last week, hoping that when they opened them it all would turn out to be a bad dream. "It all" was, in this case, the unemployed.

Unemployment is growing throughout the nation. But workers losing their jobs are forced to travel long distances and wait many weeks to file benefit claims — with many more weeks of waiting for the checks.

That is the work of Republican economy hatchet men in the 80th Congress, who forced closing of numerous U.S. Employment Service offices. But Republicans are deeply moved about unemployment now the Democrats are in control. Rep. Earl Wilson (R-Ind.) told the House: "We must take care of these unemployed . . . (so they) do not have to travel 80 and 90 miles weekly to sign up for compensation and look for jobs."

MEAN NO WRONG. Michigan Democrat Rabaut winced and hastened to reassure his colleagues:

"Mr. Chairman, the committee has in mind to do no wrong. The committee seeks to provide this money, $10,000,000, at this time for the Unemployment Service Administration. [Earlier in the day the Democrat-dominated House Appropriation Committee had approved less than $5,000,000, but Republican political haymaking had forced a hasty upward revision.] The committee is not closing the door . . . is having its own investigators investigate . . . has called before it the Budget Director asking why such a small amount was allowed at this time. . . ."

Unemployed mill workers in North Carolina are finding their local USES offices open only two hours every two weeks—in some areas only two hours a month. Hitting 52,451 last week, Connecticut unemployment is about twice last year's level and processing of benefit claims is hopelessly delayed. In Indiana, 71 of the 72 USES field offices have closed down for lack of funds.

HEARTBROKEN GOP. With this situation facing the country, the Republicans were not going to let the Democrats wiggle off the hook. They banded behind a demand that the House vote a minimum of $14,000,000 to reopen offices and to speed the processing of claims, in recognition of the seriousness of the problem. In a heart rending tone, Rep. Cotton, (R-N.H.), told the House: "I have waited anxiously for this bill. I have begged and urged that it be brought upon this floor that the unemployed whom I represent could be provided with facilities to get their checks. When it finally is brought forth I find only a niggardly and inadequate amount for this purpose. . . . I am amazed and appalled at the refusal of the committee to include at least $14,000,000 for this purpose."

But the Republicans could not bully the Democrats into admitting the growing unemployment throughout the nation. Party discipline had to be exerted. Discipline looks shaky these days when it comes to issues like the Taft-Hartley repeal.

Harry's team came through. With only five Democrats and Marcantonio (ALP-N.Y.) working with the Republicans for more funds for the unemployed, the Democrats were able to beat down an amendment providing $14,000,000 for USES and Unemployment Compensation Board Administration.

Camp to campus

President Eisenhower of Columbia University has been forced to leave school on military duty. We trust that Ike will not be gone very long, and that he is able to bring back with him several hundred thousand young fellows whose education has been similarly interrupted.

Pound of flesh

Ezra Pound, the versifier who beat a treason rap by pleading insanity, has just been awarded a Library of Congress poetry prize. Ilse Koch is in line for a handicraft award for her lampshades.

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Vol. I, No. 20 — 178 — FEB. 28, 1949

Washington week

The sell-out on the minimum wage boost

By John B. Stone

WASHINGTON

UNDER cover of the fight over Taft-Hartley repeal in the Senate Labor Committee last week, a major sellout of working men and women was being cooked up by a Democrat-Republican coalition on the other side of Capitol Hill.

The House Labor Committee (Chairman, John Lesinski of Michigan, whose career was exposed by the GUARDIAN last week) was getting ready to report out a bill which would increase the federal minimum pay rate from its present pitiful 40 cents an hour to only 60 or 65 cents an hour.

Also the committee was ready to continue exclusion of 1,500,000 workers on commercial

farms owned by absentee landlords from protection of the minimum pay and overtime requirements of the Fair Labor Standards Act. Along with them, 3,500,000 food processing and retail workers would be left out.

OK'd BY TRUMAN. This bald-faced sellout was scheduled for Feb. 28, when the committee was to make its formal recommendations in closed session after 15 days of open hearings. Only a major demonstration of strength by labor would force a change in committee plans.

Inspiration for the amendments to the act came from labor and were passed on by President Truman, who pledged support for the little fellow and made a flat recommendation for a 75-cent minimum wage in his State of the Union message.

Committee hearings opened Jan. 27. A committee draft of a proposed amendment was used for discussion. It called for the 75-cent minimum pay but left out agricultural, food processing and retail workers.

LABOR PROTEST. AFL and CIO representatives objected. They got the support of the Labor Dept. and persuaded Lesinski to substitute a broader, stronger amendment which included the left-out workers.

Thirty labor executives testified before the committee. Most of them were heard reluctantly by a majority of the members, including several Democrats. In contrast, the representatives of business and big farms were treated with utmost respect.

This instance gives the flavor: AFL Legislative Representative Walter J. Mason and Research Director Lazare Teper of the Ladies Garment Workers Union had called for at least the 75-cent minimum and inclusion of all possible workers.

"Where were you born?" demanded Rep. Graham A. Barden (D-N.C.), ranking majority member of the committee.

"In Russia," said Teper. "I was educated in Paris and got my doctor's degree at Johns Hopkins."

"No matter how many doctors you or I might have, the environment of your youth has influenced you," declared Barden. (Teper is outspokenly anti-Communist.) "You are trying to set up a dictatorship by one man over all the farms in America."

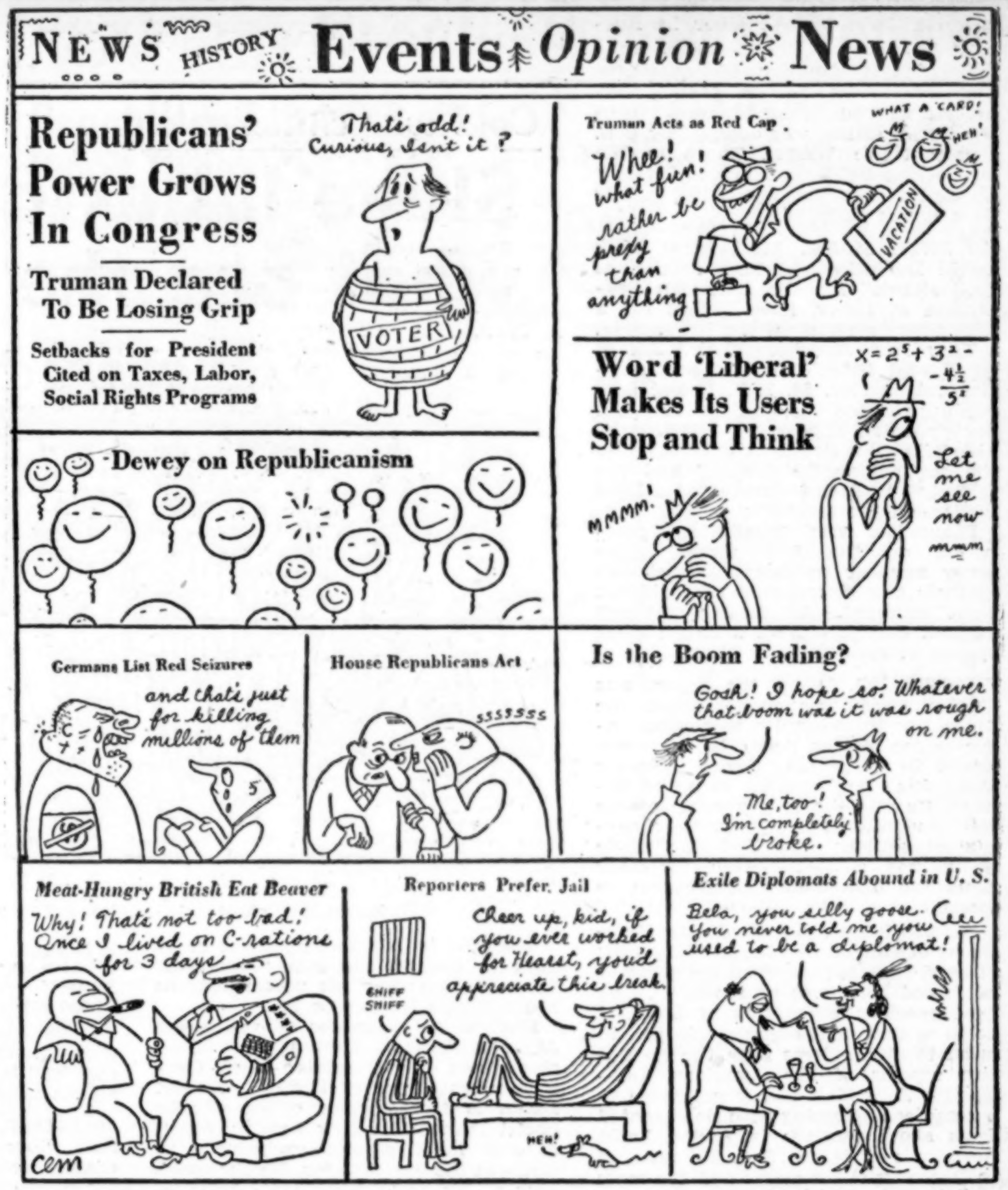
O PIONEER! Teper remonstrated that regulations had been enacted by the U. S. in the past without making it a dictatorship.

"Don't tell me about American economic history," shouted Barden. "I was ploughing mules while you were over there yonder. I lived that history."

In another exchange with another labor witness Rep. John S. Wood (D-Ga.), member and chairman of the Un-American Activities Committee, opined that setting minimum wages constituted a police state.

HOPE FOR BEST. As the hearings ended Lesinski said privately that the best that could be hoped for was a 60- or 65-cent minimum wage. It appeared that Barden, Wood, Wingate H. Lucas (D-Tex.) and some other Southern Democrats would vote with the solid Republican side against the left-out workers.

With a depression looming they would get what wages they could.



The lone prairie

Blizzard's toll

By Homer Ayres

ZEONA, S. DAKOTA

THE city folks who think ranching consists of strumming a guitar while sitting on the "old top rail" of the corral ought to take an air trip over the range now. Flying is about the only sure means of communication. Since November, one blizzard after another has blanketed the ranges with snow hip-deep to a tall camel on the level and five to fifty feet deep in the ravines.

Oldtimers used to sit around the stove and scare the younger ones with tales of how the winter of 1888 took its toll of stock, but the winter of 1948-49 will make '88 take second money.

How many millions of cattle and sheep will freeze and starve before the grass gets good next summer is hard to estimate. Before the dead are all counted hundreds of ranchers will have lost their entire foundation herds, the result of their life's work—busted.

HAY FAMINE. Ordinarily, western cattle and sheep raisers graze their stock in winter, supplementing the prairie grass with hay if the weather gets too rigorous.

Sometimes warm chinook winds thaw the snow from the prairies in January or February and the weather is like spring. During these open spells, the stock graze good and fill up while the ranchers save hay for rougher weather.

Now there has been no grazing for weeks and what hay stock gets is like handing a man a few corn flakes after he has been without food for days.

GRIEF FOR ALL. What drags stock down fast is the real bitter cold on top of the starvation. It eats clean to the bone. Even if the stock in the deep snow country could now receive hay and grain rations comparable to what they got other winters, thousands of them have gone down the starvation trail too far to turn back.

Livestock men don't want "the world, and it fenced," as the saying goes. They want a chance to raise stock, raise their kids in decency and security.

They have been taking a drubbing with the drop in livestock prices this fall, and now winter will wipe many out completely.

Just because the movies tell us that ranching is all red barns and songs in the bunkhouse, don't believe it. Ranching is mostly hard work and grief. When winter pulls an '88, it's ruin.

Fiery cross burns again in Jersey

UNION, N. J.

THE meeting to protest the death sentence against the six Trenton Negroes as unjust was just getting started in the Jefferson School here last Saturday night. But before any speaker could be introduced, something happened.

In the school yard somebody touched a match to a KKK cross, wrapped in burlap and soaked in kerosene.

The cross had nearly burned itself out when firemen arrived. The county detectives got there later. They paid no attention to footprints leading away from the cross, ignored a kerosene can tossed aside nearby. "How should I know who did it? I don't care whether it's solved or not," said detective Frank Thieme.

Police Chief Jacob Denk shrugged it off. "Kid stuff, that's all."

There haven't been any Klan crosses burned here for a long time. But in the late 'thirties the town was a center for Nazi Bund activities and several leading citizens were noisy supporters of fascist doctrines. One of them, Conde McGinley, still carries on as publisher of **Common Sense**, a violent hate sheet.

Residents weren't shrugging it off. Two days later they formed a Citizens Committee, representing many religions, many shades of politics, many occupations, to press state and local authorities for action.

They see the burning as did a speaker at the interrupted meeting. When the flames had died down, he had said: "Well, here's your Jersey justice. The cowards who slipped up in the night to light this cross are doing the same work as the lynchers in Georgia, the same work as the Trenton police who grabbed six innocent fellows and framed them."

"WHAT about slave labor in Russia?"

This most familiar of questions, hurled at forum speakers dealing with everything from Bronx day nurseries to the Berlin airlift, was dumped by U.S. representative Willard Thorp in the laps of the UN Economic and Security Council two weeks ago. After a few days it was dropped.

NO ENTHUSIASM. Matthew Woll, David Dubinsky and Toni Sender, as "consultants" for the American Federation of Labor, have sought for a long time to get it on the UN agenda.

They first submitted their "Survey on Forced Labor" to UN's Secretary-General on Nov. 24, 1947. Before proceeding "behind the Iron Curtain," the Survey noted approvingly Saudi Arabian King Ibn Saud's "contribution to the suppression of slavery," and the fact that in Africa slavery "as a legal institution has ceased to exist."

Discussion was indefinitely postponed on the AFL report, since many member nations had skeletons in their own closets that they did not want surveyed. All member nations without exception have a forced labor system in some form or other.

BOOMERANG. When the report was finally aired this month, and the Americans introduced a resolution under which Soviet penal labor camps would be inspected, Soviet delegate Tsarapkin's performance surprised nobody. He said the only purpose of the U.S. resolution was to organize a spying expedition; and that the whole thing was a smokescreen to cover America's own denial of freedom to workers.

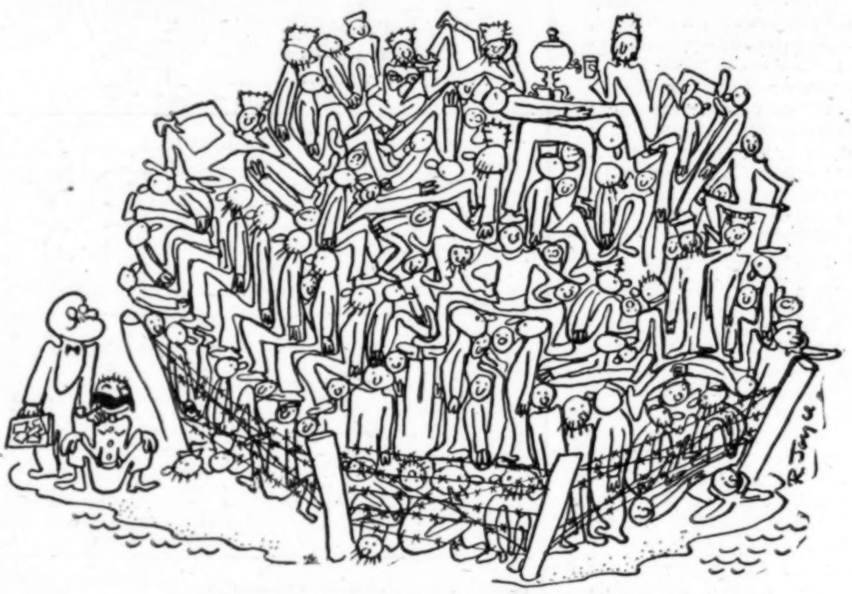
He was followed by Dr. Juliusz Katz-Suchy of Poland, who began his speech: "I must confess that when the question of forced labor was presented . . . by the American Federation of Labor, I believed that that organization had in mind to seek redress from the restrictive aspects of the American Taft-Hartley Act." Katz-Suchy proceeded to become embarrassing with documented facts about peonage in Africa, Latin America and the U.S.A. He referred to Georgia's chain gangs and the mass exploitation of Dixie sharecroppers and of Mexican labor in Texas.

SLAVES UNLIMITED. The Soviet government—presumably because it feels anything it might say would be distorted or ridiculed anyhow—publishes no official statistics about its penal system. Publications like NATIONAL GUARDIAN, which would print such statistics as straight news, cannot get them.

THE WORLD

Cold war chiller-diller

Slave labor camps—what are the facts?



David Dallin's Russia as pictured by Robert Joyce

The field is therefore open for every man to concoct his own "estimates" according to what his preconceptions about Russia happen to be.

Most of the estimates on which the AFL and official U.S. protests are based stem from the Ukrainian-born, German-educated writer David J. Dallin. Dallin is an associate editor of the Social Democratic **New Leader,** which devotes itself almost exclusively to blasts at the Soviet Union. He has spent four of his adult years (1917-1921) in Russia, the rest in Germany and the U.S.

In his book "Forced Labor in Soviet Russia," Dallin gathered together the most sensational reports from all over the world on the Soviet penal labor camps. He asserted that timber and gold (supposedly produced by forced labor) were "major items" in the Soviet economy, and quoted estimates of the number of "slaves" engaged in producing these and other products all the way from 5 to 35 millions. He himself will settle for an estimate of 15,000,000.

Dallin's statements have received the widest publicity. The rebuttals by various well-informed people have been almost wholly suppressed.

JUGGLING. In connection with Dallin's "Docu-Map" of Soviet penal camps, Henry Pratt Fairchild, professor emeritus of New York University, pointed out that "there is not a single reference by which any of its statements or figures can be checked." Describing one Russian penal camp, the Bolshevo, Fairchild said it was a complete self-supporting town in which the inmates receive the same wages and work under the same conditions as those outside.

Henry Shapiro, former UP correspondent in Moscow, commented on "the ignorance on the subject, the carelessness and the irresponsibility with which people juggle figures to suit their taste."

Shapiro asked: "Is it possible for the Soviet government to raise some 25,000,000 men for the armed services, to lose millions in famine, to suffer some 20,000,000 military and civilian casualties in the war, to man its enormous agricultural and industrial machines, and have plenty to spare to keep so many more millions, mostly adult males, behind barbed wire?"

NOBODY LEFT BUT JOE. Writing in the London **New Statesman and Nation** in May 1948, Andrew Rothstein showed that if Dallin's estimates were correct on penal labor camp prisoners since 1940, and on the number of prisoners dying every year in camps Dallin suggested were typical, the entire able-bodied male population of the USSR would have disappeared.

Alexander Werth, for years Moscow correspondent of the Tory **Sunday Times** of London and author of "The Year of Stalingrad," said in June 1948 that Dallin's book was "one of the most cock-eyed I have ever read."

The idea that a people subject to such oppression as Dallin indicates could have won the victory of Stalingrad is nonsense on its face, Werth said. Describing visits to Nalchik in the Caucasus where there was supposed to be a "slave camp," and to the port of Murmansk which was said to be run by slave labor, he said Nalchik had no camp and was swarming with workers on vacation; at Murmansk the dockers were the healthiest and best-fed people in the town.

IMPROBABLE, UNTENABLE. Like most other "cold war" propaganda, the standard accounts of Soviet "slave labor" are (a) opposed to common sense, (b) statistically and factually unverified, (c) characterized by the deliberate misuse of words.

The Soviet Union has never denied that it has a system of penal labor camps. Because it is a socialist country, the crimes for which citizens are sentenced are not identical with the crimes in capitalist countries. The principle of the penal system is that it is better both for the criminals and for the state that they should work rather than rot in cells.

Dallin and the AFL say that millions die every year in the camps. The Soviet government points to hundreds of Soviet citizens now prominent in every walk of life who have served terms in the camps, paid for their crimes against society, and been rehabilitated.

La Presse, Paris

THE LADY DIPLOMAT AT HOME

"I warn you, Hector, that if you do not cease your great cover maneuvers along my border at once, I will expel you from my occupation zone."

The waiter in Shanghai said:

'They're Chinese just like us'

By Peter Townsend

SHANGHAI

THE driver of the peddicab—the tricycle rickshaw—pedaling us home through Shanghai's emptying streets to meet the eleven o'clock curfew, looked over his shoulder.

"Afraid?" he asked, "Why should I be afraid? When they come the Communists won't be after people like us. They'll go for the higher ups. They're only after the rotten eggs—Chiang Kai-shek, Soong Mei-ling, Chen Li-fu. You know them."

The waiter at one of Shanghai's palatial hotels, daily serving the rich refugees flocking from Nanking on their way to Taiwan or Canton, shrugged his shoulders and gave the same answer: "No, I'm not afraid. They're Chinese just like us."

Peace moves that gave to the lunar New Year celebrations a more hopeful aspect have worn threadbare. China's Changs and Wongs have been left in no doubt as to the intentions of the "peace brokers."

The government's change of currency six months ago served to empty the pockets of middle class and workers alike. The betrayal of their faith in peace has drained them of the last drop of feeling for the Nationalists. Now, instead of the hesitation or indifference of a month ago towards the prospect of a new regime, they welcome it.

DARK BEFORE DAWN. "They're all right up north," the peddicab driver finished, "the peasants there get land, and the Communists look after their part of the country all right. No beggars, no need to lock your doors at night, enough to eat. What more do we want?

"But these people here—just look at the beggars at the street corners. All women. Their families have been conscripted into Chiang's armies or they're driven off their farms by taxation. These people on top, they haven't a ghost of a chance."

I had just been talking with a Nanking professor fresh from prison. "The top ones among us are still inside," he said, "and there's no stopping the torture. The same old Japanese methods—electric shocks, water treatment, the square chopsticks put between your fingers and the whole hand bound tight. There were twenty of us in our 8x14 room the first night, and I couldn't sleep for the screaming. And one of the guards told us his officers had been out for four nights in a row bringing people in."

"Ai-ya," said the peddicab driver, "this is worse than the Japanese. Why don't they come quick?"

Max Werner

Cost of Atlantic Pact to U. S. is staggering

THE passionate discussion about the North Atlantic Pact is obviously missing the point in overstressing the wording—the mere formulation of U. S. obligations. Yet the real questions of the Pact are those **of money, of man power, of fighting units and of military effort.**

An editorial in the **N. Y. Herald Tribune** remarked recently that hardly anyone is sufficiently prepared to assume the costs and risks of the Pact. But those costs and risks are not yet computed. We know in advance that very little European self-help is to be expected. The Pact is a **unilateral** affair, and its core is the amount of **U. S. help.**

Max Werner

150 DIVISIONS. If the Atlantic Pact remains a fiction on paper, it will produce dissatisfaction and frustration. But, if it is to become a military reality, its cost will be exorbitant, and the bill will be footed almost entirely by the U. S. **The financial expenses of the Pact will amount to $60,000,000,000 and its military cost must be no less than 100, and probably 150 U. S. divisions.**

The realities of the Pact are very simple. With the exception of the U. S. not a single one of the pact's potential members has material resources available for rearmament. France and Great Britain were poorly armed and militarily unprepared on the eve of World War II, but at least they were rich countries. The British military budget of $3,000,000,000 is already too high for an exhausted country struggling desperately to recover. But even with that high budget, British rearmament has not yet started. It would obviously be absurd to supply and feed the Western European countries with the Marshall Plan, and then drain their meager resources into re-armament. Practically, their rearmament would be financed by the United States—and the U.S. alone.

LAND POWER. The actual military difficulty of the Pact is even more staggering. The defense of Western Europe is first of all a task for land forces, not for air power. Yet not a single strong land power is among the prospective members. The U. S. and Great Britain are sea and air powers. We were a strong land power in World War II, but we have disbanded our Army and thus far do not intend to rebuild it. France is now only geographically a continental power. She has ceased to be a military land power since her defeat.

If and when the Atlantic Pact is signed, the demands on the U. S. will steadily increase. The rearmament of Western Europe, with military return at least uncertain, will cost between 15 and 20 billion dollars. If our own rearmament has to hold pace with the military strengthening of Western Europe, our military budget must be raised substantially. In our $15,000,000,000 military budget of today no international military obligations have been included. With them, we will have to spend some $40,000,000,000 more within the next four years.

QUESTION OF POLICY. Yet the main problem for the U. S. arising from the North Atlantic Pact is not even one of financial expenditure. Our entire military policy would have to be overhauled completely to conform with the Pact. If the Pact is to become a military reality, the U.S. must become the center of **military power for a coalition, not merely its arsenal, and supply it with soldiers, not merely with weapons.**

The prospect of the Atlantic Pact thus becomes a **U.S. transformed into a land power, mustering a mass army.**

If we recognize this inevitable consequence of the Pact and its full implications, then maybe our diplomacy will look further for a political solution, more secure, less expensive and less risky.

Kulturni Politika, Prague

THE THREE KINGS — THE MODERN VERSION

"And they came bearing gifts."

B. Iefimov in Literary Gazette, Moscow

American Wet Nurse

MacArthur's Hoax

The spies did conspire -- for peace

By Shuji Fujii

RICHARD SORGE and Hozumi Ozaki, the two leading figures in Gen. MacArthur's report on Soviet spies in Japan, were executed by the Tojo government after prolonged torture on the morning of Nov. 7, 1944.

Their crime was helping our side to win the war against fascism. What they accomplished is probably unique in all the annals of espionage.

On the first anniversary of their execution, the former judge who presided at their trial said that, while Sorge was "a Communist to the very end," Ozaki was "a true Japanese patriot." (Quoted in Tokyo **Mainichi**, Nov. 25, 1945).

MAN OF PEACE. The truth, according to Shinichi Matsumoto, Ozaki's closest friend and an active labor leader until his death in 1947, is that Ozaki as a Communist had worked for over 15 years against Japan's expansionist policy. Ozaki foresaw only disaster for his country and untold misery for his people if Japan's "holy war against Communism" (actually a coalition of brass and big business to reap billions out of the Chinese opium trade etc.) continued.

He first met Sorge in Shanghai in the early '30's. By the summer of 1941 Sorge had worked his way into the job of press attache under Nazi Ambassador Eugen Ott in Tokyo.

Hitler informed Japan as early as June 6, 1941, of his plan to attack the Soviet Union. Immediately the "Northward" group in Japan clamored for similar military action. Sorge and Ozaki both being in vantage positions without doubt learned of this, and made every effort to prevent Japan's participation. It is known, for instance, that Ozaki fought vigorously against it at a meeting with Konoye and his advisers which took place at the "Breakfast Club."

FANATICS WIN. On June 25, 1941, three days after the Nazi assaults on the Eastern front, Ott discovered that Japan planned to move southward instead. In the meantime full scale military preparations were pushed by Japan.

Ozaki met his friend Matsumoto around this time, and took some comfort in the fact that war against the Soviet had been averted. But nonetheless he was deeply concerned about the imminent war with the U.S., and made a pledge to devote all his efforts to prevent so fatal a catastrophe.

It is known today that the final decision to wage war against the U.S. and the Allies was taken on Sept. 6, 1941, by Emperor Hirohito, the then Prime Minister Prince Konoye, Tojo and other war criminals. Konoye weakened later and Tojo's army fanatics forced a showdown with him.

Ozaki, Konoye's "brain trust," was arrested on Oct. 15 and next day the Konoye cabinet resigned, paving the way for Tojo and his gang to move full steam to war.

WHO WAS THE TRAITOR? According to Matsumoto, Ozaki not only worked against war but also worked for the defeat of his fatherland. A small group of anti-imperialists around Sorge and Ozaki "conspired" courageously for peace against powerful adversaries.

Tojo and his associates—tried and hanged only four years later for their "crimes against peace and humanity"—branded Sorge and Ozaki as traitors and hanged them.

Yet Ozaki never lost confidence that the people in Japan would learn the truth about his work within ten years of his death. His last words were to express his keen regret that he could not live to witness personally the inevitable defeat of Tojo's Japan.

Today the Japanese people know the truth, that he was a "conspirator" but a "conspirator" for peace.

The mentality of the spy report

WITH considerable buck-passing the Army has tried to disown the report from Gen. MacArthur's headquarters which denounces a group of men and women as "traitors" for helping us win the war.

But the Army can't disown the MacArthur headquarters brand of thinking which twists the facts of history into their opposites by suggesting that the U.S. was on the wrong side in the recent conflict.

The report is now to be shrugged off as a **faux pas**, but the mental processes that produced the report are not likely to change.

A close reading of the entire report, which fills 19 pages of the **Congressional Record** in small type, reveals (1) a suggestion that persons who were ever acquainted with Richard Sorge should now be punished; (2) a belief that innuendo is far more useful than fact for molding opinion; and (3) anti-Semitism.

Under (1), it speaks of persons once acquainted with Sorge as being "still at large" and that "they can be expected to be secretly busy with their trade at this very moment in the capitals of the world." Their "trade" consisting of opposition to fascism.

Under (2), the report repeatedly builds its claims upon such flimsy supports as " . . . it is reasonable to assume . . . " and " . . . there is reason to believe. . . ."

And under (3), one passage refers to "an un-named Russian Jew" and another to Gunther Stein, a writer, as "a German Jew who seems to have become a British citizen." This technique of pointed reference to Jewishness was invented and perfected by Nazi propagandists.

The report was prepared by Gen. MacArthur's intelligence corps. Chief of that corps is Major General Charles Willoughby. "Who's Who" reveals that Willoughby was born in Germany. His father's name was Freiherr (Baron) Tulf von Tscheppe-Weidenbach.

He is a German aristocrat who seems to have become an American citizen when he was 18.

NATIONAL ROUNDUP

The arsenal

IN the offices of the State Dept. last week officials were preparing the words that would set American industry —now precariously poised between a boom and a slump—to turning out tanks and guns and all the appurtenances of war from bombsights to buttons on a battle jacket.

A measure now in the drafting stage would authorize the President to ship arms overseas—not surplus arms, but arms made to foreign order. It would once again enable the President to proclaim the U.S. an arsenal. For what and

for whom were the questions asked overseas. Requests were pouring in.

Scandinavia was said to take first priority; other Western European countries followed. Greece and Turkey are covered by Public Law No. 75.

Cool billion

COMPETITION. Operation Arsenal would cost approximately $1,000,000,000. The New York Times' James Reston, put the problem this way: "... the U.S. rearmament program, the domestic economy, the European recovery program and the new military arms program for Western Europe will begin to compete with one another."

On top of it all the President sent two bills to the House last week, proposing to bring 20,000,000 additional persons under old age benefits—and spend $24,000,000 the first year to protect "all needy persons." Congressmen were cagey and none more than Rep. Robert L. Doughton (D-N.C.), chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, who dropped them in the hopper. He remarked that they were the President's bills and that he was only doing his duty, not committing himself to their support.

But something on the list would have to give—and the choice was up to Congress.

Call of the road

ON Thursday night the President sharpened the horns of the dilemma on which Congressmen found themselves. His party followers were gathered at the Mayflower and Statler Hotels in downtown Washington, banqueting in high spirits, still enjoying the November glow of victory.

The President shuttled from one hotel to the other. At the Mayflower he was informal, though not so spectacularly as he had been earlier in the week when he assailed "any s.o.b." who criticized his military aide, Maj. Gen. Harry H. Vaughan.

In his prepared address at the Statler he railed at the Republicans in Congress for frustrating the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act, which he called "an insult to the working men and women of this country." He denounced the "special interests who are making excessive profits out of present shortages."

It sounded like a fighting speech and it seemed as if the jaunty little campaigner was living again the triumphs of the whistlestops. He said: "I may even get on the train again."

In October it was sound politics as well as good campaigning to chafe at a Congress dominated by Republicans. Last week it was the President's own party that ran Congress and bore responsibility for fulfilling the promise of the campaign. Republicans were not slow to point out the difference.

Is it lagging?

TOUCHY. Democratic leaders were growing touchy at complaints that this was a do-nothing Congress. House Speaker Rayburn told reporters: "The [administration] program isn't lagging in the House and it isn't going to."

Senate Majority Leader Scott W. Lucas was more plaintive. "You've got to give us a little time," he said. But the 81st Congress was seven weeks old and the score on the Democrats' promises was still zero.

FOOTBALL ISN'T CIVIL. In the Senate the Truman civil rights crusade had been whittled down to the size of a football. First hurdle of the civil rights program was the filibuster, and the Democrats couldn't make the jump. Republicans gloated.

On Feb. 28 the Senate was to call up an amendment to end unlimited debate. The Dixiecrats were set to talk it to death in the conviction that only a filibuster stood between the nation and full civil rights.

Majority Leader Lucas thought he had a way out of his dilemma. The rules amendment would be classified as unfinished business to be laid aside at any time in favor of other legislation.

But late in the week a group of Northern Democrats revolted. After a two-hour party caucus it was announced that the debate on the question would be continued indefinitely. Sen. Lucas was still hopeful that he could shut it off after a week.

In the confusion of a three-way split among the Democrats, the Republicans could appear as champions of civil rights. Actual passage of laws against lynching and the poll-tax seemed further away than ever.

The labor debate

T-H STILL ALIVE. On Wednesday the Senate Labor Committee ended hearings on labor legislation. The talking had gone on for three and a half weeks. Most of it had been noisy, some of it violent. But it proved only what everybody had always known: labor hated the Taft-Hartley Law, employers loved it.

Early in the skirmishing labor gave up its demand for immediate repeal, and decided to go along with President Truman's plan to delay repeal until the Wagner Act could be amended the way he wanted.

Republicans welcomed this as a fatal concession and made the most of it. They dragged the hearings out. Now it will take two weeks or more for the committee to prepare a bill for Senate consideration. Floor debate will consume three or four weeks, perhaps longer. Only then will the House go into action.

No trouble

"OVER TIME." Prospects that anything good for labor will come out of the House were growing dim. Last week that body voted overwhelmingly against labor with a bill to outlaw what anti-labor Congressmen called "overtime on overtime."

Chairman John Lesinski (D-Mich.) called for its passage to "stave off trouble." The House responded overwhelmingly with a 230 to 7 vote, and Rep. Vito Marcantonio (ALP-NY) got up and told the Congressmen: "It is significant that the very first piece of labor legislation to come to this Congress—a Congress that is supposed to be the friend of labor—takes thousands and thousands of workers from under the protection of the Fair Labor Standards Act."

Rumors of deals were beginning to seep out of the House. One Washington correspondent reported that "some Southern Democrats said some Administration supporters" were already bargaining: parts of the civil rights program would be shelved in return for repeal of parts of the Taft-Hartley Law.

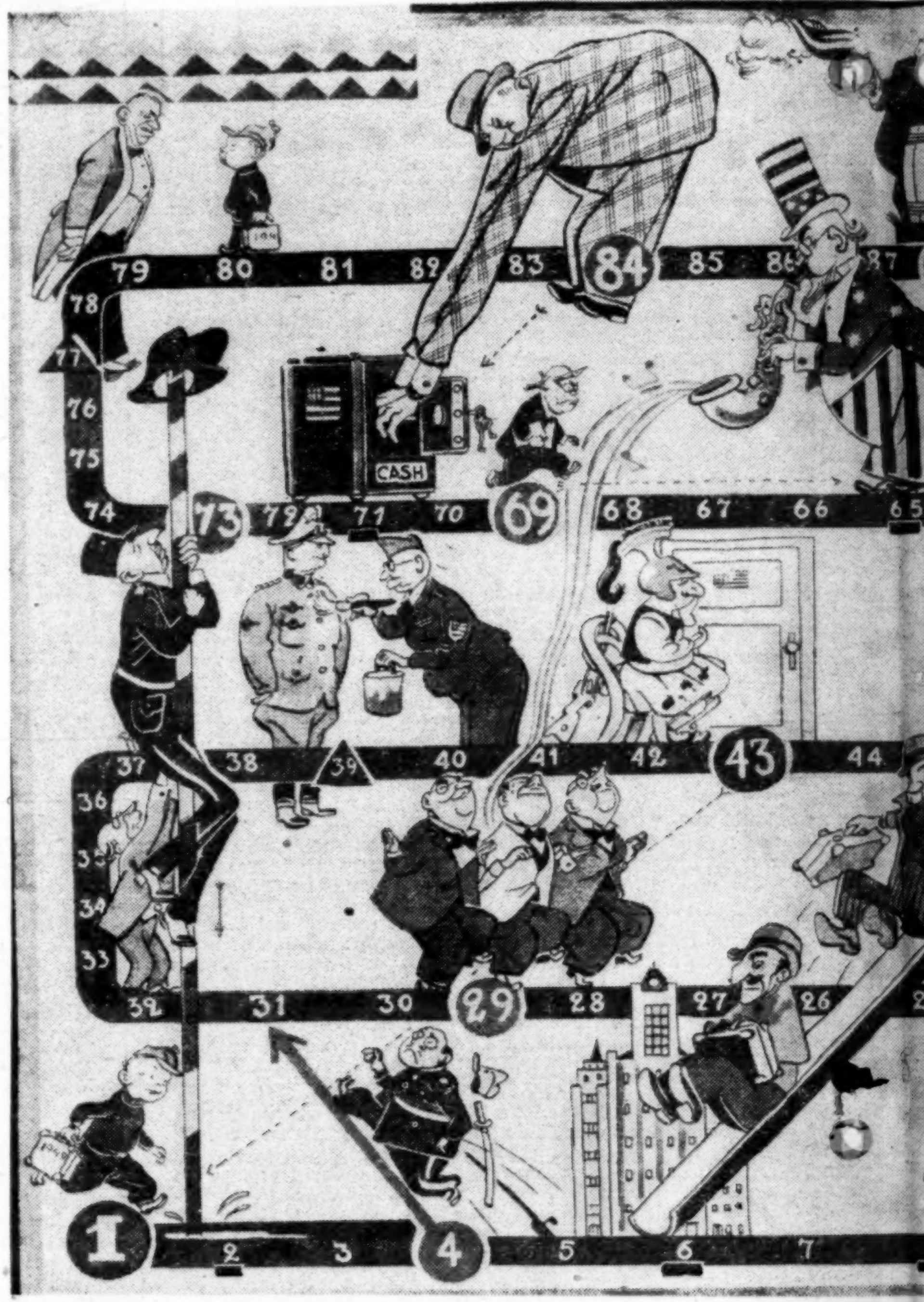
Wallace testimony

BANKRUPTCY AT BEST. Congress last week for the first time heard some strong words about the Economic Cooperation Act when Henry A. Wallace, Progressive Party Presidential candidate, told the House Foreign Affairs Committee that Marshall Plan policy in Europe is "at best the bankruptcy of American statesmanship. At worst, it is a deliberate incitement to war."

For nearly two weeks the Senate Foreign Relations Committee had held hearings on appropriations of $5,580,000,000 to carry Marshall Plan spending through to June, 1950, and n[...] voice was raised in criticism. Republican and Democratic leaders gave it their unqualified approval.

But in House hearings Wallace took

The game of pol



RULES OF THE GAME (as explained to Russian readers of "Krokodil"): The participants must go through all the 100 numbers, notwithstanding the obstacles.

The winner is the first person who gets to the plane (100) which speeds away as far as possible from the dark and shady figures on the map.

Each player in turn rolls the dice and advances as many points as he has scored.

When he reaches a circle, he goes forward or backward, according to the key numbers listed below. At a triangle, he skips one round. Beware of the circle 43—it means return to the starting point 1.

The players begin their journey at point 1. If you hit 4, advance to 31, together with the Kuomintang general who is constantly busy "regrouping" his forces under the pressure of the People's Liberation Army.

10—Matinee for children in an American movie. They really get educated there. You can see for yourself when you get to 50.

14—A factory; no workers in it—they are on strike. You can gauge the boss's feelings by peeking at 22.

21—Here you stop before th[...] French painter: "Portrait of [...]

Arriving at 29, you will meet [...] dance ensemble. Advance to [...] whose tune this ensemble da[...]

At 39, skip one round, so tha[...] Gen. Clay's favorite pastim[...] Nazis.

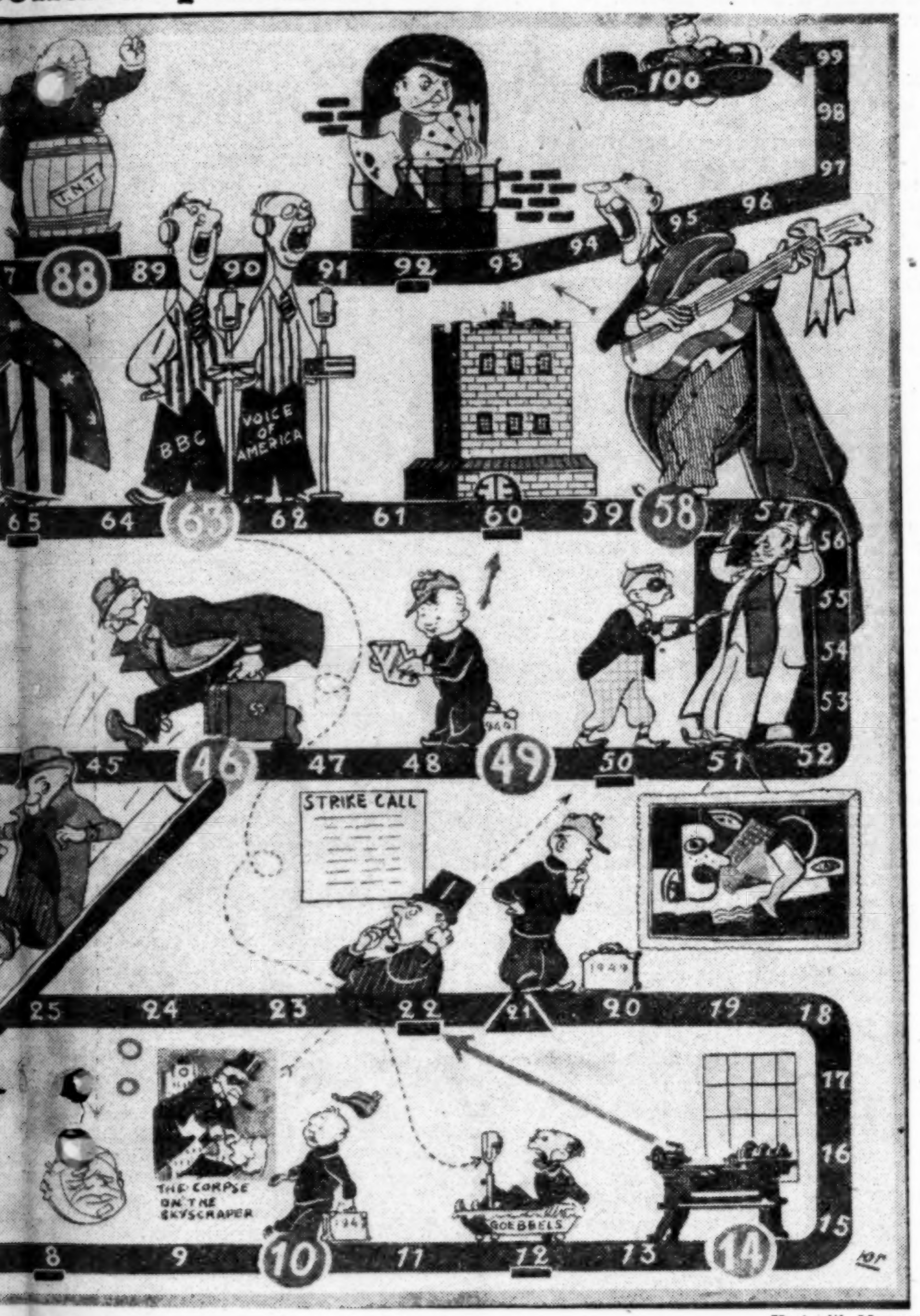
43—The fateful number. He[...] of successive defeats awaits a[...] can boss. It can be said in [...] order him to start everythin[...] number 1.

At 46, you will want to find o[...] looking persons are bound. T[...] Persons. You will have to slid[...]

49—For once you are fortunat[...] by a progressive American [...] author if you look into the [...]

At 58, a diplomat of Anglo-Am[...]

political parchesi



Krokodil, Moscow

e the picture of a well known of the artist's wife."

neet the Marshallized song and e to 65, and you will learn to e dances.

that you may enjoy watching stime; whitewashing seasoned

Here the royal Greek "hero" its an audience with his Ameri- in advance that the boss will ything all over again. Back to

nd out where all those suspect- d. They are so-called Displaced slide down with them to 6.

unate in getting a book written an author. You will find the he ,ail—60.

o-American persuasion executes a routine serenade. He serenades Generalissimo Franco, whom you will find by advancing to 92.

The original source of the radio screaming featured at 63, can be traced by descending to 12.

From 69, bought-out journalist hurries to 65.

73—Gen. de Gaulle reaches for Napoleon's hat. Notwithstanding Blum's help, he will have to flop down into the mudhole—2.

At 77—you lose two rounds attending a press conference with Kurt Schumacher. There he will tell you what he did to dismember Germany; but he won't tell you how much he got paid for the job.

84—Parnell Thomas, ex-chairman of the Un-American Activities Committee, at his favorite occupation. He is as usual busy reaching into 71.

88—Mr. Churchill calls for a new crusade against the U.S.S.R. It would do the gentleman good to go down to 8 and recall how his 1919 crusade against Soviet Russia ended.

Finally—100—Let's hurry and get home, to wish all our friends a peaceful 1949.

the plan apart point by point. He quoted ERP's own report to show that "when Marshall Plan aid ends in 1952, after America has spent 16 or 17 billion dollars, western Europe will be left economically dependent and without a sound basis for economic and industrial growth."

He said ERP is "not an economic plan for recovery but a political weapon in the cold war policy," and that "it robs us of better schools and better health, more homes and more security."

810,000 units

SMALL-SCALE HOUSING. Housing legislation wasn't doing so well. A Senate Banking subcommittee approved a bill calling for the construction of 810,000 government-financed low-rent units over the next six years. This was a mathematical compromise between President Truman's proposal for 1,050,000 such units over a seven-year period, and Republican proposals for only 600,000 over a seven-year period.

The Progressive Party Budget for Abundance would provide 2,000,000 new dwelling units a year.

LARGE-SCALE DISASTER. But the military got a fair hearing. The House Armed Services Committee approved a bill that would (1) make this country a haven for aliens who agreed to spy for the Central Intelligence Agency, (2) erect a continental radar fence around the U. S. and Canada at a total cost of $161,000,000, and (3) construct a 3,000-mile long test range for guided missiles at a total cost of $200,000,000. The brass had argued that these are needed to prevent "disaster on a nationwide scale."

The committee was super-secret about that part of the bill that would waive immigration restrictions for alien spies in U. S. pay. Chairman Carl Vinson (D-Ga.) ordered a closed session and said:

"Congress will just have to go along and have confidence in us. They will have to accept our judgment and not question the bill."

He explained that the bill provided for "just plain spying, no matter what you call it."

Gastonia, N. C.

THE doffers of Gastonia, N. C., are the men and women who tend the spinning frames in the mills. If they are old enough to work they remember the strikes of 1929, and the misery of hard times.

A year ago a doffer in Gastonia made a dollar an hour. He worked on Saturdays too at time and a half and that brought his pay up to $52. A few months ago the mills cut back to five days a week, and the doffer took home only $40. Some mills granted a raise of 8 cents an hour which brought the paycheck up to $43.20 a week.

Then the mills went on a four-day week and the doffer's pay dropped to $34.56 a week. There are weeks now when he works only three days and earns only $25.92. And there the doffer finds rock-bottom security, for if his hours are reduced any further he can make it up by filing a claim as "partially unemployed."

PROSPEROUS INDUSTRY. Last week the **U. S. News and World Report** said: "The textile industry, itself, is prosperous. Most companies still show a profit even on reduced operations. Nearly all are free of debt. Many have substantial surpluses that are expected to tide them over the current slump."

The Textile Workers of America (CIO) have dropped claims for arbitration of a demand for a 10 cents an hour wage increase. The union's leaders saw not the profits of the companies but the lines of unemployed that have begun to form at the nation's mills, and they forgot that their union was formed when the unemployed numbered three times the current figure.

UE'S demands

4TH ROUND—SPLIT DECISION. Problems of Gastonia's doffers differed little from those facing workers in steel mill, auto factory, rubber works and the merchant marine. The answers differed, though.

The United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO) asked General Electric for a fourth-round wage raise to offset the rise in living costs estimated at $11.09 a week in the period since Jan., 1945. The union also asked for a reduction in the work week with no loss in pay, and improved health and pension plans. The company said flatly no to everything.

The United Rubber Workers (CIO) decided to press for a 25-cent an hour wage raise throughout the industry. Pensions were good, too, said the union's statement, but contrary to official CIO policy the emphasis was on wages.

Philadelphia story

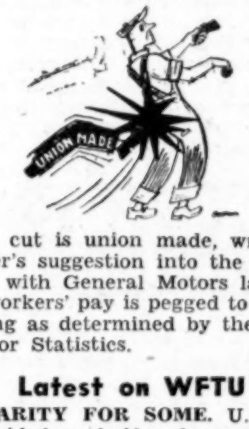
ROUGH RIDER. The transit workers of Philadelphia not only asked for a 25-cent an hour raise; they struck for it. They were out ten days when an 8-cent offer came from the transit lines. The executive board turned it down.

Then came a series of events which followed a pattern set some months ago in New York. President Michael Quill came before a hastily summoned meeting. He called for a show of hands of those willing to go back.

The hands went up and Michael Quill announced that the strike was over. Later the Executive Board voted to censure Quill, but the strike was lost and the men had only their 8 cents. Many went back to a routine which kept them on company property for 15 hours a day to work two shifts of 4 hours each. They are paid for eight hours. End of the split shift was a well-understood, deeply-felt objective of the strike.

WORRY. President Joseph Curran of the National Maritime Union (CIO) said he was worried about unemployment more than about low wages and would concentrate on spreading the work around rather than on making it pay more.

Walter Reuther, president of the United Automobile Workers (CIO) prepared his union members to take a two cent-an-hour wage cut on March 1.



The cut is union made, written at Reuther's suggestion into the contract signed with General Motors last year. Auto workers' pay is pegged to the cost of living as determined by the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Latest on WFTU

SOLIDARITY FOR SOME. U. S. labor was divided on half a dozen points of domestic strategy and on foreign relations as well. Everybody sang for solidarity but there were differences in enthusiasm and range.

The CIO and the British Trades Union Congress walked out of the World Federation of Trade Unions last month. But the organization's newly elected president, Italy's labor leader Giuseppe di Vittorio, offered American workers a chance to meet with workers of other countries, top labor brass notwithstanding.

Last week Louis Saillant, General Secretary of the WFTU, gave GUARDIAN's Helen Scott the details. Saillant came to New York to attend sessions of the UN Economic and Social Council. Immigration authorities looked askance at his record of progressive leadership, restricted him to the New York area and forbade him to talk politics publicly.

Details of the plan, as revealed by Saillant, were these: The world's workers were to be classified by trades and each trade was to have its international conference. Any union, local, national or international could send delegates. Before the WFTU meets in June in Milan four conferences were contemplated: leather and skin, textile, mining and steel. After June would come meetings of workers in oil, food, communications, office, transportation and building.

Saillant termed the plan "WFTU's major job for 1949." He said it dated back to an idea of Sidney Hillman's. It was adopted by WFTU in 1945; according to Saillant the TUC had obstructed it until now. It was too early to say what American unions would answer the call.

Two trials

THE trial of the 11 Communist leaders was in recess most of last week, but when it resumed on Thursday the pattern and the mood were the same

Continued on next page

NATIONAL ROUNDUP

Continued from preceding page.

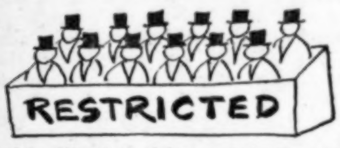
as before. The defense was still trying to prove that jury selection machinery discriminated against Negroes, the poor and the laboring.

But before the day closed on Friday the judge ruled that the defense would have to wind up its jury challenge by March 1. Then, the judge said, he would consider the matter for a few days and open the trial itself on the following Monday.

Defense attorneys protested that the judge had indicated by his ruling that his mind was already made up. The judge said only that to date he felt the defense had not proved its case, and he proposed to terminate all argument.

A different view

In Newark, N. J., a similar jury challenge went into its tenth month and heard its 639th witness. Unlike his New York colleague, Judge Harold R. Medina, Presiding Justice Nathan L.



Jacobs directed his warnings not so much to defense as to the state's attorneys. He warned them that "a token representation of minority groups on a grand jury list will not save it from being discriminatory." The case grew out of a grand jury indictment of 13 members of the United Electrical and Radio Workers (CIO) on charges of inciting riot in 1946.

WORLD ROUNDUP

The twain meet

THE quiet sounds of peace could be heard distinctly last week.

Twenty-five nations of Europe, east and west, met at Geneva and agreed that they could do business with each other. They were brought together by the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe.

The eastern countries said they wanted the machinery of the west. The western countries said they needed the raw materials of the east. And the delegates returned to their several capitals to draw up lists of what and how much they could offer each other in trade.

At Lake Success the Economic and Social Council considered the state of the world as summed up in a report drafted by the UN Secretariat and entitled: "The Major Economic Changes in 1948."

Spotty record

UP-GRADE. The world was recovering from the war, the report said, but the come-back was spotty. It was most clearly seen in the production figures of iron and steel mills, of chemical and engineering plants.

Figures were compared with those of the peacetime year of 1937-1938. This is the record of the Marshall Plan countries: England up 26 points; Belgium, 26; France, 13; Netherlands, 9; Norway, 4; Italy, 2; Western Germany down 18. (The Ruhr had a long way to climb back to the pre-war boom of 1938.)

In eastern Europe, Poland was up 73 points; Czechoslovakia, 64.

The U.S. was up 32.

The figures did not indicate correspondingly high standards of living. Ravaging inflation and scarcities were handicaps.

The harvests of 1948 were good; the forecast for 1949 was better. Chief worry was an American depression. The report did not mention the possibility of another war.

Truman's plan

EARLY in the week George Barrett of the **New York Times** outlined in great detail the program of the President. He said it was "more ambitious than the European Recovery Program," broad as all Africa and Asia and conceivably profitable to investors.

U. S. delegates at Lake Success were plainly troubled. They knew Congress was wondering where the money would come from.

Overseas, people were wondering where the profits would come from. The **New York Times** was delicately approached. The paper ran an editorial next day, which toned down the ambitions of the plan but not as much as the cautious proponents of the bold new program would like.

Vague and hedging

THE UNVEILING. On Friday the plan (in its third painstaking draft) was unveiled in terms deliberately vague, hedged and restrained. Its language was designed to meet criticisms that it was expensive and imperialistic. This much emerged:

It was to be flexible, effected through the UN, through a group of nations and through the U.S. alone.

It was to inexpensive. Though figures were not officially revealed, earlier reports said the program would cost between $50,000,000 and $100,000,000. (ECA is to cost $5,580,000,000 this year.)

It was to be profitable. Private companies were to carry out most of the program, and it was understood that governments would encourage private investment and private profit.

The U.S. resolution called only for further information from the UN. This prompted the quip that it was not even a program, much less bold or new.

WHAT PRICE PRIDE? Christopher Mayhew, the British delegate to the Council, was torn last week between pride in the Empire and efficient bargaining. On Wednesday he said: "We are no longer interested in recovery—but in breaking fresh ground, in terms of new social and economic experiments."

The smell of socialism was in the nostrils of many Congressmen and pointed questions were asked at the President's press conference and elsewhere. If England had recovered, what need had she for further Marshall Plan aid save for socialist experimentation?

On Thursday in Council session Mayhew made his choice. He said: "My country couldn't do without the Marshall Plan."

Peace barnstorm

PEACE was given more encouragement from unofficial sources. Henry Wallace was mailing out invitations to

progressive leaders throughout the world to join him a barnstorm for world peace in the spring.

In Rome left-wing Socialist deputy Pietro Nenni accepted. Paris Deputy and former cabinet minister Pierre Cot said he would come. Konni Zilliacus, Labor Party Member of Parliament and GUARDIAN contributor, said he had a by-election coming up but would join Henry Wallace before the end of spring. The National Executive Committee of the Labor Party added to his problem by announcing on Thursday that they would withold their endorsement of him in the 1950 general election.

Intermarium

LOUD AS EVER. On the noisy side, developments were familiar: epithets, denunciations and treason.

From Poland came word that a new organization had been established to coordinate underground counter-revolutionary efforts from the Baltic to the Black Sea, and that the agency would be known as Intermarium (sound geography but ungrammatical Latin meaning "between the seas.") The Rome correspondent of **U. S. News and World Report** termed it "so far . . . little more than a debating society."

Bulgarian trial

IN Sofia, Bulgaria, 15 Protestant clergymen went on trial on Friday, charged with abetting espionage efforts of British and American agents and with black market currency speculations. All of the churchmen were said to have confessed before the trial began.

When the trial opened the public benches were crowded, the press box filled. U. S. news services were well represented though photographers were barred. The first two defendants to speak repeated their confessions in court. They were contrite and asked for leniency.

Outside of Bulgaria everything happened as in the Mindszenty case. The U.S. sent a pre-trial protest terming the charges "ludicrous," "blatant," "terroristic," "cynical." Bulgaria rejected it and proceeded to try the case.

There were harrowing advance stories of torture. Methods were described by former Hungarian Premier Ferenc Nagy in **Life.** It seemed to cover all Communist trials everywhere. He said of Cardinal Mindszenty:

" . . . His soul was bisected, then left in suspense for a while, then put together again according to a perfect arithmetical formula to fit a precise political design."

The scenario

MOVIE BUSINESS. Among the alleged American espionage contacts were representatives of Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer. In Hollywood MGM executives said their firm had been in Bulgaria to make movies—nothing else.

GUARDIAN contributor Fritz Silber was stationed in Sofia during the fall and winter of 1945-46, when he served as acting chief of the U.S. Information Service there. Last week he told GUARDIAN:

"MGM was deeply involved in the cold war long before the Berlin blockade. The State Dept. used MGM facilities to distribute propaganda pictures, including newsreels and specially made documentaries. (Incidentally the Hollywood song-and-dance features in technicolor were immensely popular with the Soviet censors, who arranged special screenings in their own theatre.)

"Prof. Cyril Black of Princeton, one of the alleged contacts for the accused churchmen, has ridiculed the charge, and told the press he spent one week in Bulgaria in 1947 en route to Greece.

Official mission

"He might have added that he spent a bit more than a week there in the late fall of 1945 as interpreter and adviser to Mark Ethridge, President Truman's personal inspector of the Balkans. The mission of Black and Ethridge was an official one, but the reports have never been made public," Silber said.

"Another alleged American contact, Robert Strong, was in the U.S. Legation in Sofia when I was there. Strong never made any secret of his distaste for the Communist-led Bulgarian government or the Russians' political ways. He was caught up in the cold war along with many other American and British officals at frequent cocktail parties and social gatherings. The Americans named may be completely innocent, but they were certainly enmeshed in the kind of conflict that arouses the most intense suspicions and leads to new interpretations of the word treason."

War and Peace

ACTING President of China Li Tsung-jen was in Nanking. His Premier, Sun Fo, was in Canton. They were polite but distant.

The Communists on the north side of the Yangtse paid little attention to either.

Out of Japan came another revelation "made available" to **New York Times** reporter Burton Crane. It concerned alleged secret orders to all Communists like this one: "Should a grave problem confront you, you might resort to assassination, lynching or other means. . . . Beware of rash actions. The women's division may employ sex

tactics as a means of capturing anti-communists."

Agreement at Rhodes

On the island of Rhodes the Israelis and Egyptians agreed on an armistice. The Negev desert, which the Israelis hope to make fertile, was the prize for which the negotiators wrangled. In the end Israel kept most of the Negev that her troops had occupied. And on the delegates' plane from Cairo there were good things for a banquet.

Greek tragedy

DEMETRIOS PAPARIGAS, General Secretary of the Greek Confederation of Labor, was first arrested in July, 1946, and served four months. In July, 1947, he was arrested again and sent to the island of Icaria. He escaped and in July, 1948, he was rearrested. He will not see another fateful July.

Last week Royalist guards ushered newsmen into his cell to see his body hanging by a pajama cord from a window bar. It was suicide, they said.

Men who knew Paparigas called it murder. Louis Saillant, secretary of the World Federation of Trade Unions, told GUARDIAN in New York last week the WFTU had asked the UN to investigate. These were the questions: On what charge was Paparigas held? Why was the WFTU lawyer, M. Dupont Willemin, denied the right to see the prisoner?

In the prisons of Athens 11 other labor leaders face death. Two of them were tried and sentenced last November. Shocked protest from all parts of the world stayed their execution. In January they were tried again and acquitted of treason. But last week they were still in prison under the death sentence imposed in November.

In Athens government leaders watched their economy fail, their debts accumulate and their people turn into saboteurs in the cities; in the country they were farmers by day and revolutionaries by night.

In New York City, the American Council for a Democratic Greece led pickets in front of the Greek Consulate and called a Rally for Peace in Greece for Feb. 28 at City Center Casino. Columnist Jennings Perry and lecturer Muriel Draper were to speak.

Fritz is free

KUHN'S KAMPF. The former leader of the German-American Bund, Fritz Kuhn, stood up in a Munich Court last week a free man and an aspirant for a restored American citizenship. (It had been canceled during the war.) A German Appellate Court had reduced his ten year sentence as a Nazi war criminal to two and a half years, which he has already served.

He was angling for a publisher for the story of his life. A reporter asked him if he would call it "Mein Kampf." Said Kuhn: "I might. It's good propaganda, eh?"

LIVING & LEISURE

"Two rings is the rapid dismissal gong."

DOLLAR STRETCHER

The most for your money

This week's Dollar Stretcher is devoted to a report on products tested by "Consumer's Reports," publication of Consumer's Union, 83 E. First St., N.Y. 3. Ratings are based on unbiased laboratory tests.

FOUNTAIN PENS. In tests of 27 models, steel point and gold point, CU found relatively few Not Acceptable models; some pens priced as low as 69c were rated Acceptable. Many defects found in former tests were notably absent and differences in quality were small, except for styling and ink capacity. In general, steel points are susceptible to corrosion when exposed for long periods to some inks. Gold points are more durable and correspondingly more expensive, with prices starting at $3.50.

Listed in order of increasing price, the following steel-point pens were Acceptable: Sphinx 27, 69c; Sphinx 300, 79c—both with medium ink capacity; Eagle Moderne, $1, high ink capacity; Stratford Regency, $1, medium ink capacity; Wearever Deluxe, $1, medium ink capacity; Esterbrook Renew-Point, $2.70, high ink capacity.

Among the gold-point pens found Acceptable by CU were Sheaffer Craftsman, $3.50, ink capacity medium; Venus President 0666H, $3.50, ink capacity high; Waterman's Stalwart 402, $4, ink capacity high; Waterman's Crusader 517, $5, ink capacity medium.

PRESSURE COOKERS. With many safe and efficient pressure cookers now available for home use, purchasers are advised against the purchase of any cooker which presents even a possibility of burn hazard, let alone risk of explosions or scalds.

Of 24 pressure cookers tested (all but two were 4-quart saucepans) 15 were found Acceptable in terms of freedom from scald hazards but these varied with respect to convenience of cooking, use, handling and cleaning. Heading the Acceptable list were AMC Dream, $12.95 (available at AMC stores); West Bend Aluminum Co. makes AMC Dream and also distributes it under its own name; Mirro-Matic, $12.95; Wearever 3604K, $12.95 and Nesco, $12.95. (An AMC store is one which sells products of the Associated Merchandising Corp.)

JELLIES—APPLE AND GRAPE. No longer need the good housewife stand over a jelly kettle to provide her family with tasty jellies. Today "store-bought" jelly is a good buy for flavor, economy and texture. All products sold as jelly must now meet the minimum standards of the Food and Drug Administration, and must contain at least 45 parts of juice to 55 parts of sugar.

Among 25 brands of grape jelly tested, the following were the least expensive of those rated Acceptable—Grade A. Louis Sherry, 27c, 1 lb.; Welch's, 27c, 1 lb.; Co-op, 23c, 12 oz.; Ecco, 23c, 12 oz.

Among 17 brands of apple jelly, CU found the following least expensive of those rated Acceptable—Grade A. Musselman's, 18c; White House, 18c; Mirabel, 19c (all for 12 oz.); Premier, 25c, 1 lb.

DRIED PEA BEANS. Tests of seven brands of dried pea beans showed that Jack Rabbit (21c a lb.) and Sunnyfield (19c a lb.) were Best Buys. Even at today's high prices, dried beans contain enough valuable nutrients to be classed as an excellent buy. Dried beans are high in protein content and this protein is relatively inexpensive as compared with the protein in other foods.

The new books

Life of Hitler's high priest

Reviewed by
Ralph Peterson

ALFRED ROSENBERG, dark high priest of the late Third Reich, wrote these memoirs as a "defense" while awaiting trial at Nuremberg. If anything, they settled the noose around his neck, for they violently underlined the evil in the man whose book "The Myth of the Twentieth Century" was the Bible of the other better-known architects of World War II—Messrs. Hitler, Goebbels, and Goering.

Karl Haushofer (the geopolitician who escaped the Nuremberg trial by committing suicide before trial in 1945), and Rosenberg, Balt by birth and "without one strain of Germanic blood," were surely the most dangerous of all the Nazis, for they were the brain of fascism.

His memoirs are interesting enough, but it is the remarkable documentation provided by two Swiss newspapermen—Serge Lang and Ernst Von Schenck—that makes his volume the most important study of Nazism since Konrad Heiden's durable "Der Fuehrer."

PAINSTAKINGLY the editors discarded all but the most important Rosenberg text, and for each section used they provide sturdy, analytical footnotes. With horror, the reader watches the tenuous ideas of Rosenberg's frustrated, lonely childhood become the intellectual meat and rationale for Hitler, for Dachau, and for the bloody search for **lebensraum**.

Some revelations hit with particular force. If you are addicted to laughing at the apparently harmless activities of some "lunatic fringe" native fascist groups, you will be surprised to learn that the Munich faddist group that later became the Nazi party held one of its first mass meetings on February 20, 1920, for the apparently insane purpose of "protesting to Munich civil authorities their issuance of flour to Jewish bakers for the making of motzah."

From that beginning, Nazism went on to claim a generation's peace, and forty million assorted lives. The presence of Henry Ford cash in those early Munich days is verified, as is the periodic financing of Hitler by the heavy industries of Germany.

AND there was the dream by Hitler—that "paranoid dreamer of sick dreams" to the very hour of the invasion of Poland in September, 1939—that the "Nordic spirit" would win through, and that together, England and Germany would destroy the Soviet Union.

The editors conclude that Rosenberg based his testament on "the terrible conviction, shared by all neo-Fascists, that the Second World War and the defeat of the Axis powers was in vain and merely a wrong turn taken by history."

In death, the Rosenberg-Haushofer-Hitler dream of the West against Russia is coming true.

THE MEMOIRS OF ALFRED ROSENBERG. With Analytical Commentary by Serge Lang and Ernst Von Schenck. Ziff-Davis. 328 pp. $4.

Youth, Arise!

AMERICAN boyhood is menaced, we feel, by a trend represented in a press communication we have received from Carson-Ruff Associates concerning a line of "distinquished clothes for little boys" manufactured by a Miss Merry Hull under the trade name of Merry Mites Incorporated.

Miss Hull is known in adult circles for a creation known

as "Finger-Free" gloves. But adults can take her or leave her alone, whereas little boys are rather helpless against the "Magic Shirt with the Sesame Seams" or the "one-piece romper of Merry Suede" known as the "Cuddle-Round."

Merry Mite boys' clothes run from "tiny hand-knit pants" starting at "size zero" to overcoats and, according to Carson-Ruff Associates, "have received extraordinary editorial attention in the consumer press throughout the country." As a matter of fact, orders are coming in "from coast to coast including Hawaii."

The future looks dim enough, but if American boys are going to grow up under extra strain then the outlook is practically hopeless.

If our boys are going to be trained to think of themselves as Merry Mites and acquire a taste for hand-knit pants, suede cuddle-rounds and sesame seams, then mankind's long grope upward is bound straight for a dead end.

The new films

Reviewed by
Harold Salemson

A PLACE OF ONE'S OWN (British): James Mason, looking not unlike Mr. Chips, in a mild little English ghost story that may amuse you.

MY DEAR SECRETARY: The old story of the popular and successful novelist and his starry-eyed secretary, played this time by Kirk Douglas and Laraine Day. Not much of a yarn, but fast-moving and amusing enough.

SO DEAR TO MY HEART: Sterling North's nostalgic film of Indiana, 1903, makes a tender and delightful Disney film, with Burl Ives and Bobby Driscoll. Adults will find it very acceptable, and kids will adore it.

THE QUIET ONE: Real-life story of how an unwanted boy turns delinquent and is rehabilitated. A masterpiece of heart-warming film making. Don't miss it.

YELLOW SKY: Gregory Peck in a ripsnorter of a western, which doesn't try to say anything but packs a lot of excitement.

BEST BETS (previously noted): Command Decision, Hamlet, Symphonie Pastorale, The Snake Pit, An Act of Murder, Johnny Belinda, The Boy With Green Hair.

"I think that writer we just hired is a radical. He keeps thinking up new plots."

National health insurance

The people will have to fight hard to break through the medical lobby's gold curtain. Here are the facts.

By Miriam Kolkin

TWO out of every three Americans cannot afford to get seriously ill. This number is based on an estimate by the eminently conservative American Medical Assn. that families with incomes under $3,000 a year—two thirds of our nation—need outside help when sickness strikes.

Each year 1,400,000 people die in the U. S. Most of these deaths cannot be prevented, but—according to Federal Security Administrator Oscar Ewing—the lives of 325,000 men, women and children who die annually from cancer, heart disease, pneumonia, childbirth and various diseases could be saved.

These preventable and therefore doubly tragic deaths are the dramatic side of the story. But untold thousands more suffer from other illnesses that do not bring death, but do mean terrible hardship and financial crisis.

From the plain dollars-and-cents angle, the nation suffers a staggering loss in production and wages because of illness. The U. S. lost $27 billion during 1947 alone in potential production and wages through sickness, partial and total disability.

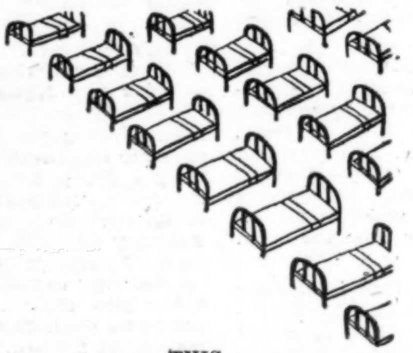
Another startling index to the state of the nation's health is the fact that over 40% of selectees were rejected as unfit for military service. Many had diseases or defects that could be cured or prevented.

MISSISSIPPI's 58. At the last count there were about 139,000 active physicians in the U. S., making a ratio of about one for every 1,000 potential patients. That's generally considered sufficient for good service if the doctors are evenly distributed among the population. But New York state, for example, has an average of one physician to every 500 persons; Missouri, one to every 1,500.

Negroes are most victimized by this maldistribution. Not only does their incidence of sickness lead the nation because of their forced substandard of living, but those Negroes who can afford medical care in many instances cannot get a doctor.

In Mississippi, for example, there were 58 Negro doctors in 1942 to serve a Negro population of well over 1,000,000. In the South as a whole there were 4,913 Negroes per doctor in 1942. Despite this tremendous shortage, continued racial barriers in the medical schools are resulting in fewer, instead of more trained Negro doctors.

Severe shortages of hospitals also contribute to the nation's ill health. We have only about 900,000 acceptable hospital beds in the entire country. We could easily use twice that number. But there are large areas—four counties out of every ten—which have no approved general hospital at all. Americans live in these counties without even the assurance that hospital care—expensive as it may be—is available.



THIS or THIS

In 1951, UMT would cost $2,000,000,000. This same money would build 2,000 schools or enough hospitals to provide 200,000 hospital beds.

DROWNING MEN. Franklin D. Roosevelt once said: "The average level of health or the average cost of sickness has little meaning for those who now must meet personal catastrophes. To know that a sream is four feet deep on the average is of little help to those who drown in places where it is ten feet deep."

National health insurance would spread the costs of health services and the benefits of medical care among the nation as a whole. Health insurance means spreading this risk and budgeting for it on a prepayment basis for all.

Health insurance is not "socialized medicine" any more than unemployment insurance is socialism.

The powerful big business medical lobby, controlled by the patent medicine companies and wealthy "specialist" doctors, is trying to conceal from the American people the fact that health insurance is the only way to guarantee medical care to anyone who needs it.

Here are the salient features of the Natl Health Insurance Bill:

MEDICAL CARE. Preventive (checkups, inoculations, etc., to keep you from getting sick unnecessarily); diagnostic (to find out what is wrong with you when you are sick); and curative (to cure you after you are sick). This means services by a family doctor, services of specialists when needed, hospital care (60 days hospital care, except for tuberculosis and mental diseases); laboratory and x-ray services; unusually expensive medicines; special appliances and eyeglasses; dental care and home nursing to a limited degree.

ELIGIBILITY. You and your dependents (wife or disabled husband, parents, children if dependent and under 18 years of age) are eligible if you are: (a) employed or self-employed; (b) receiving old age or survivors' benefits; (c) receiving civil service benefits; (d) a needy person whose contributions to the insurance fund are paid by a public agency.

THE COST. 1½% of your earnings up to $3,000; your employer would contribute another 1½% up to $3,600. If you are self-employed, you would pay 3% up to $3,600 of your own earnings.

FREE CHOICE. You can choose your own doctor, hospital, group clinic, specialist, dentist, or nurse from among all the practitioners and institutions in your community that serve under the act. Doctors will be free to accept or reject patients, just as they do now.

DOCTORS. Doctors are not compelled to take part in the program. By merely declaring he does not want to serve patients under the Natl. Health Insurance Act, a doctor can remain outside of it and continue to treat patients privately.

PAYMENTS. Doctors will be paid by the method a majority of the doctors in a given area or locality prefer. Doctors will be paid by a fee-for-each-service, by salary, or on a per capita (so much for each person on the doctor's list); or by a combination of these methods, as the majority may determine.

ADMINISTRATION. The funds will be collected by the federal government along with other social security payments. Each state government will divide the state into local service areas and appoint local committees and officers. Doctors and laymen in the communities will run the program.

EXISTING PLANS. Voluntary health insurance plans could continue to provide you with services under this act, and be reimbursed from the Health Insurance Fund.

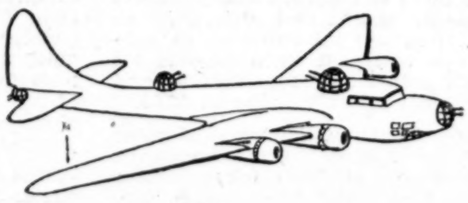
GUTTER LOBBY. The American Medical Assn. is currently trying to raise $3,500,000 slush fund through a $25 assessment on each of its 140,000 members. The AMA will use the money to send its lobbyists swarming over Capitol Hill to fight the health insurance measure and to drown the American people in a propaganda campaign of lies, distortions and redbaiting.

While the AMA is pitching its public campaign on a lofty, altruistic key, behind the scenes it is working with the Natl. Physicians Committee, which is financed by the big patent medicine companies.

The gutter tactics of the Natl. Physicians Committee have forced the AMA into publicly disclaiming its previous link with the committee. However, the NPC is now engaged in its own money-raising campaign—and one of its main selling points is a printed copy of a formal indorsement resolution secretly passed by the AMA House of Delegates at its December 1948 meeting in St. Louis.

FIGHT FOR IT. The depths to which the NPC has sunk in its desperate fight to prevent adoption of a health insurance program are evident in its latest broadside. It has addressed to every Protestant minister in the country, every doctor and dentist, copies of the December issue of Dan Gilbert's Washington Letter, which opens with the greeting, "Dear Christian American," and goes on to picture health insurance as a Bolshevik plot. Gilbert is a former contributor to Gerald Winrod's anti-Semitic **Defender**, and is a well-known figure in native fascist circles.

Rebellion against the assessment is already spreading among AMA members, who are forced to belong to the organization to improve their professional standing but in many instances do not subscribe to its reactionary views.



THIS or THIS

The Truman budget provides $40,000,000 for military airplane research, but a total of only $32,000,000 for health research by the National Cancer Institute, National Heart Institute and National Institute of Health. Cancer took 117,000 lives in 1945; heart trouble killed 424,000 that year. Truman's budget pays more for research to kill than to save lives.

It is already clear that if the American people want health insurance they are going to have to fight hard for it. The medical lobby is spending more than any other single registered group in the country to block this program.

Whether two-thirds of the nation will be relieved of the possible financial disaster that medical bills bring, depends on what happens to the health bill in Congress this session.

(Federated Press)

Lifelines

HOME, SWEET HOMICIDE. Last year 34,500 persons accidentally did away with themselves around the house. Gladys Ward, home management specialist at the University of Illinois College of Agriculture, has prepared a check list of domestic hazards in an effort to reduce fatalities.

Falls, she says, are the No. 1 killer in the home. She asks: "Are there two secure handrails for each stairway, inside and outside? Are halls and stairs well lighted? Do you immediately wipe up spilled water and fat from the kitchen, laundry, and from bathroom floors?"

Burns are another major cause of deaths: "Are surfaces well insulated near furnaces, pipes, and especially under and behind the kitchen range? Do you provide a pail of sand near the range to put out small fires? Are electric cords used only for special purposes as designated, and repaired promptly?"

DRILL, YE TARRIERS. In Knoxville, Tenn., dentists not only fill your teeth but your ears, too. They've rigged up radio sets in their torture chambers with ear-plug receivers. Idea is to let music take the patient's mind off the torment. Some swank dentist shops have phonograph turntables that the patients can manipulate from the operating chair. Dentists there say they'd use television, too, but television hasn't come to Knoxville yet.

HIBISCUS HALL. Now you can spend an entire evening in a ballroom and never once be disturbed by "dancers' diaphoresis," more commonly known as "rumba aroma" — to be blunt, perspiration odor. Provided, that is—all the dancing girls wear "camouflaged camisoles" impregnated with the odor of hydrangea and hibiscus.

It all came out of a wartime discovery. A fabric maker who turned out camouflage clothing for Pacific jungle troops got complaints from soldiers because the clothes didn't smell like the rest of the jungle and could be detected by sharp Japanese noses. He experimented and found a way to give the fabric a permanent odor of flowers.

Now he's making ladies' underwear out of the stuff.

Testimonal to Gailmor

A DINNER to honor William Gailmor's record as an outstanding radio commentator will be held at the Park Sheraton Hotel, 56tn Street and 7th Avenue, New York, on Thursday, March 3.

Speakers at the dinner include Prof. Barrows Dunham, Millard Lampell, Shirley Graham. Entertainment will be provided by such well-known artists as Jack Gilford, Avon Long, Ka- Ballard. An award will presented to Gailmor by Henry A. Wallace.

THE MAILBAG

Fresh estimate

SOUTH DANBURY, N. H.

Isn't it possible for Mr. Wallace to take a month's vacation and go see Stalin and get a fresh estimate of what the Russians are doing and accomplishing? **E. Hillsmith**

Re-claim Christ

NEW YORK, N. Y.

It seems perhaps at last I've found a working-man's religion. Rather, a church that practices it. I refer to the People's Institute of Applied Religion, articles on which have been in the GUARDIAN.

For years I've believed Christ was a poor man's Christ. He taught a poor man's philosophy. He lived to free the poor oppressed. The rich have stolen Him, used His teachings to subdue the poor and un-informed. It's time the little people claim Christ for their own. **Keedy B. Sparks**

A wise people

PLACERVILLE, CALIF.

The best Dollar Stretcher I know is the old Chinese proverb:

"Ask the price in three shops." **Charmion Cotton**

Choice

OTTAWA, CANADA

When you say (Feb. 7) GUARDIAN is the only thing between the Communist press and right-wing reaction or some such words, aren't you forgetting **The Nation** and the **New Republic?** Also, please try to make GUARDIAN more easily distinguishable from the Communist press, since you emphasize the distinction. **Paul A. Gardner**

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

I want to take exception to your editorial of Feb. 7. In my estimation, the Communist Party press—the **Daily Worker** and **The Worker**—are excellent papers, and I have never found anything [in them] that did not help the progressive movement. But as for the right—in plain words it is vicious and poisonous—that is really the thing that has to be fought. **Mrs. Burke**

What GUARDIAN said on Feb. 7 was that suspension of the paper would force "a choice between the alternatives of only the Communist Party press on the left and the commercial press—overwhelmingly hostile to liberal American tradition—on the right." Ed.

Under fire

NEW YORK, N. Y.

I went to **The Churchman** dinner on Feb. 23, when the magazine's annual award over which there is so much controversy was given to Bishop Bromley Oxnam.

The speech by Dr. Harlow Shapley of Harvard was a joy. I admire Dr. Guy Emery Shipler (editor of **The Churchman**) to the hilt. Oxnam was comparatively good, but his diatribe against communism as such rammed home once more to me that it is the dynamic challenge of communism that most of these clericals fear and hate.

I think they can't go on dodging, any of them, and expect to beat Catholicism's fascist menace—until they say what Shipler dared to say long ago and what Paul Blanshard exposed in **The Nation:** "It is the 'one true Church' doctrine we object to."

These Protestant clericals are under fire. I must stand by for principle. But where are they standing on the Melish issue? **Dorothy Howells**

Back talk

When we sent out renewal notices, we gave readers an opportunity to tell us why they were not renewing, if they weren't. Here are some answers we got:

"There are two sides to every question, and I'm in the middle."

"You raise my blood pressure too much."

"My wife left me. She took out the subscription to the GUARDIAN, but now she left me, so the hell with it."

"The GUARDIAN is one of the best papers I've ever read. However, I am unemployed at present. I sucer from a disease known as **lackafunds.**"

And there was the fellow who wanted to make sure that he DID get the GUARDIAN. He wrote:

"My wife says she sent you a check. Knowing my wife, I'm enclosing check."

It says . . . "Now that you have decoded this message, you are eligible for membership in the Popaut Scrummies Secret Agents."

La Tribune des Nations

If communism works...

PITTSBURGH, PA.

How long would it take you to get to your work if you had to stop in front of each owner's house to bargain and pay him a toll for the privilege of traveling across the front end of his property?

Our street-road-bridge system is almost all communistic. Our schools are too. In face of all the wild-eyed anti-communist hysteria, it seems strange to speak of our Army and Navy as communist—but that's what they are; we have no use for private armies and navies.

Add to those our Post Office, Bureau of Standards, Dept. of Agriculture etc. . . if the "outlaw communism" crowd is serious, it ought to be campaigning to free all these for private ownership.

If communism works so well where we already have it, why not adopt it wholesale? **A. B. Cox**

World government

VANCOUVER, B.C.

"We, the people . . ." signed a United Nations Charter to bring about the Brotherhood of Man, and now this North Atlantic Pact is proposed.

The trend of intelligent world thinking, accelerated greatly since the atomic bombs were detonated, is to international law, and eventually to a Federal World Government.

Let us take the measure necessary to maintain international peace by calling for volunteers to form an international police force. **William Mitchell**

Russia and the P.P.

CHICAGO, ILL.

As a charter member of the Progressive Party, and one-time ward leader here, I think I am qualified to take exception to the—in my opinion—fallacious reasoning in Thomas E. Ullen's letter (Feb. 14).

Russia is an issue in the P.P., as much as any other aspect in world politics. A basic party policy or statement of our disagreement with certain aspects of the Soviet system (for instance, the dictatorship of the proletariat) is needed. Any party founded on very definite principles (and unfortunately there are few in America) should form a comprehensive platform, explaining its position on all world issues to the people.

Ullen is completely wrong when he says that "our work as Progressives is to destroy the bi-partisan foreign policy." The work of Progressives is to bring about a thorough and farsighted program of social reform, the destruction of the bi-partisan policy being only a small part of the total program.

(Name withheld on request)

Report to readers

Of time and type

ONE short month ago — at the close of January — the GUARDIAN's number seemed to be just about up.

In a front page appeal in our Feb. 7 issue, we laid the facts before GUARDIAN readers and asked for help.

As this is written it seems certain enough to report as an accomplished fact that the readers of the GUARDIAN — of great means and small — have decided that this paper shall have its chance for life and a fair shot at obtaining a sustaining circulation. Sufficient financing has been advanced and pledged to enable the GUARDIAN to continue in publication for at least six more months. During that time it must be the job of the editors and the readers to build our circulation to a point where, together, we can carry on without the need of further "backlog" financing.

IN ADVANCING us this opportunity to stay in business for keeps, the GUARDIAN readers have also advanced dozens of well-taken criticisms and suggestions, the effect of which we hope will be noticeable in succeeding issue through various changes in makeup and content.

As to format, makeup, typography, etc.:

In most publications today, you use whatever type the print-shop has to offer. New type means not only great expense but also waits of as much as a year for delivery. We at the GUARDIAN are inclined to think that it isn't the type that matters, but rather what you do and say with it, as long as the type is readable and varied enough to permit proper emphasis and change of pace.

Makeup and format are something else again.

Our 11½ by 15 inch tabloid format was arrived at by a process of matching up the factors of need, economy, available newsprint and what our presses are best geared for. Without going into all the details, our present format represents the large economy size — which seems to be the all-American way, whether in newsprint or toothpaste.

THE news itself constitutes a mainstream. Comment, illustration and background material are either essential aids to navigation or points of interest along the way.

We started out, therefore, by running our "mainstream" of news prominently (2-col. 10-pt. type) in the outside columns of our National and World sections, with illustration, feature and comment tucked in between in standard 8-pt. type.

We discovered that most readers we heard from either read the roundup right through and then returned to read the rest; or else got sidetracked by the side-bar stories (as we call them) and then had to go back and pick up the thread of the news roundup.

For the last few weeks we have experimented with running the news roundup across the bottom of the National and World pages in distinctive type but more condensed, allowing for greater content if not undivided attention.

THIS week we are trying a different wrinkle — putting the news roundup all together in the center pages of the paper.

We think this method will meet most objections — except that of the editors, who prize the center spread (pages 6 and 7) as the best display area of the paper and rebel at giving it over entirely to cold type.

Anyway, we're working on the problem—and thanks to you readers, it looks as if we now have the time and opportunity to work out the best possible solution.

Please let us know what you think about it.

John T. McManus

Editors of NATIONAL GUARDIAN:
17 Murray St., N. Y. 7, N. Y.

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Maryland

How to purge a dragon skin

BERNARD DUBOW of Baltimore sends two clippings of the **Barnaby** comic strip—one from the late **New York Star** and the other from **The Evening Sun** of Baltimore (both Jan. 18).

As the Fairy Godfather expounds on the value of the dragon in our present

EVENING SUN, BALTIMORE

NEW YORK STAR

culture, Barnaby interrupts to note that on the side of the dragon are printed the words "Socialized Medicine."

"Yes," explains the Fairy, rubbing off the words, "it hasn't quite worn off yet. His last job was posting for cartoons. Over at the medical journal—"

The Star printed the cartoon just as the artist had drawn it. The Sun deleted the words "Socialized Medicine."

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Montana

Union says report on silicosis lies

THE Helena **People's Voice**, sent us by **Margaret Driggs** of Butte, is leading a state-wide fight to reject a Governor's commission report on silicosis, No. 1 occupational disease in mining areas.

The commission says that silicosis has been eliminated from the mines as a result of the installation of preventive equipment by the mining companies.

The Butte Miners' Union charges that the commission is wrong in almost every respect; that conditions causing silicosis are worse in the mines today than ever before.

Figures given by the miners as proof are from Dept. of Public Welfare which administers state aid to silicotics. (Pensions of $40 a month are paid out of the people's taxes rather than by the mining companies as in many other states.) Some 688 persons are receiving benefits today, compared to 133 in 1941.

OTHER STAGES. These figures showing an increase in silicosis tell only of those disabled by the disease in the third stage. "Almost every authority on silicosis," reports the **Voice**, "agrees that for every one case of silicosis in the third stage there are numerous cases in the first and second stages. . . ."

Silicosis patients may die with all symptoms of heart failure; it is considered, "an important cause of heart disease," says the **American Heart Journal**. "Fatal results produced by silica dust are due to tuberculosis in a majority of cases," says the **X-Ray Atlas of Silicosis.**

The death rate from T.B. in Silver Bow County (in which Butte is located) is 4½ times higher than in other state counties.

Why is the report on silicosis and other occupational hazards such as lead poisoning, acid fumes—a "whitewash?" asks the miners union. Could it be because the burden of caring for the victims "rests on the shoulders of the common people?"

If the mining monopoly were responsible for the compensation, "that fact alone would be the greatest incentive toward improvement of conditions underground," the **Voice** concludes.

•

Michigan

Progressives win UAW election

"GENERAL Motors workers are very unhappy," reports **John O'Neil** from Bay City, "about the cut of 3c an hour looming up because of UAW President Walter Reuther's 'cost of living' contract with GM last year.

"In local elections, one of the three UAW locals (Chevrolet No. 362—employing about 2,000 men) went 'left wing.' The workers elected a Wallace progressive as president; and reinstated as vice-president a man who was purged as a "Communist" by Reuther. Another progressive was reinstated as chairman of the bargaining committee.

"The local's new vice-president is certain to be elected to the city council in the Spring. He is campaigning on a platform of free preventive medicine for school children on a non-partisan ticket."

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Ohio

Students oppose military training

A PROPOSAL to invite the U. S. Air Force to establish an R.O.T.C. unit on Oberlin Campus has been rejected by a close margin by the school faculty, reports **Mrs. H. W. Shepard** from Elyria.

"Students 'lobbied' the faculty pro-

testing against 'military invasion' of the campus, circulated a petition for student referendum and protested to college President W. E. Stevenson," she writes.

A poll conducted by the YMCA showed 58% of the student body against the measure with only 24% in favor. Campus publication **Oberlin Review** attacked the proposal in an editorial, calling it "a threat to the intellectual integrity of every future student and . . . a craven repudiation of every principle which this college has cherished since 1833.

"The military . . . will attempt to 'indoctrinate' in every rotten aspect of the word. . . . Military thinking is closed thinking," the **Review** continued. "There is no opportunity for free intellectual speculation.

"The presence of this unit on campus, and the inevitable tie with Washington which will result, can only bring Oberlin into a spreading area of national intolerance."

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Chicago dateline

By Rod Holmgren

CHICAGO

THE jails of this state may be jammed with assorted liberals if a series of six "anti-red" bills now before the State Legislature becomes law.

The bills were introduced by State Sen. Paul Broyles (R-Mt. Vernon) and the four other Senators comprising the Seditious Activities Investigating Commission, which the Assembly created in 1947.

"DON'T TALK TO ME." Headed by Father Clarence Parker, rector of St. Marks Episcopal Church, Chicago, a 40-member union and progressive delegation went to Springfield last week to protest the bills. Interviews with a dozen Senators (Democrat and Republican) added up to the time-worn retreat formula, "I haven't had a chance to study them."

Sen. Norman Barry (D-Chicago) said more bluntly: "I helped introduce these bills. There's no use talking to me."

Barry later told me he expects to ask the legislature for an appropriation of $50,000 to continue the work of the Seditious Activities Investigating Commission during the coming biennium. He himself hopes to be the chairman.

THE JUG. The bills are directed against persons "directly or indirectly affiliated with any communist . . . or communist front organization." Yardstick for judging what is a "communist front," Sen. Barry indicated, will be that of the U.S. Dept. of Justice which denounces everything to the left of the NAM.

"Communist fronters" would be ineligible for teaching positions in public schools or colleges, or to accept employment or run for office in Illinois. One bill actually provides for anyone attending a "communist front" meeting to get "not less than one nor more than five years in the penitentiary."

Gov. Adlai Stevenson refused to indicate to the delegation any position on these proposals. Sidney Ordowar, legislative director of the Progressive Party, commented that the bills "would make it possible to . . . jail and fine all those who fight for a peaceful world, for the rights of Negroes or minority groups, for an abundant economy, for jobs and homes."

Public hearings on the bills (SB 152 through 157) will begin March 8.

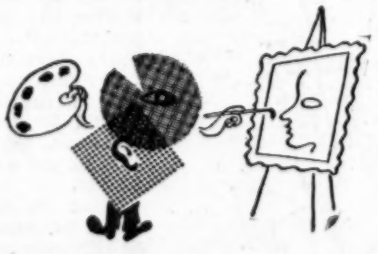
ILLINOIS FEPC. Prospects for passage of an Illinois Fair Employment Practices law appeared strong this week, following receipt by the Assembly of resolutions from city councils of Chicago, Springfield, Georgetown and Westville asking for the legislation.

Similar resolutions are coming up for a vote shortly in city councils at Rock Island and Peoria. One has been tabled in Danville.

SHOWING THEM. Missouri's Progressive Party showed its first signs of life since the November elections this week in a two-day political action school held in St. Louis. More than 50 Progressives answered the call of State Director Katherine Schreiber to down-to-earth "classes" conducted by William Miller, Illinois State Director.

Alabama

The art critics of Birmingham



THE good people of Birmingham are "flabbergasted," says Walling Keith in the **Birmingham News**, by the 36 paintings on exhibit in the city's Public Library. "Is it art, or is it Red propaganda?" asks the paper in a clipping sent by **Celia Jo Tylee**.

The works are part of the collection sent abroad by the State Dept. as representative of American art. They were recalled when those well-known art connoisseurs Reps. Taber (R-N.Y.) and Stefans (R-Neb.) called them "subversive" and more Marxist than American. Other Congressmen joined in labeling them "political propaganda of a left-wing nature."

The red tag has remained on the paintings, even after their sale by the State Dept. to private collectors. One of the "Red" works of art is **Hunger** by Ben Shahn, which was used in a poster some time back by the United Nations Appeal for Children.

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Missouri

A meeting place for children

FROM Joplin, **Ernest Sadler** writes of "an old gentleman I met a few months ago. He is 83 and gets a pension (his only income) and every cent he can spare he puts into a small club house he is building for a meeting place for children and any progressive group who would like to use it."

The "old gentleman" is Mr. S. A. (Daddy) Ott of Joplin, whose Millennium Dawn Club (150 kids are members) has as its slogan: "Day by day I live better in every way." He writes of juvenile delinquency: "It's a mortal CRIME to bring innocent BABES into the deplorable conditions WE PARENTS and LAWMAKERS have so IGNORANTLY created and put before them; and then punish them for doing what we put before their innocent minds."

Daddy Ott has started a crusade against war, for which he is recruiting interested persons. "All people . . ." he says, "should awake to the realization that force of fire arms . . . does not, and cannot create PEACE." There are no fees.

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